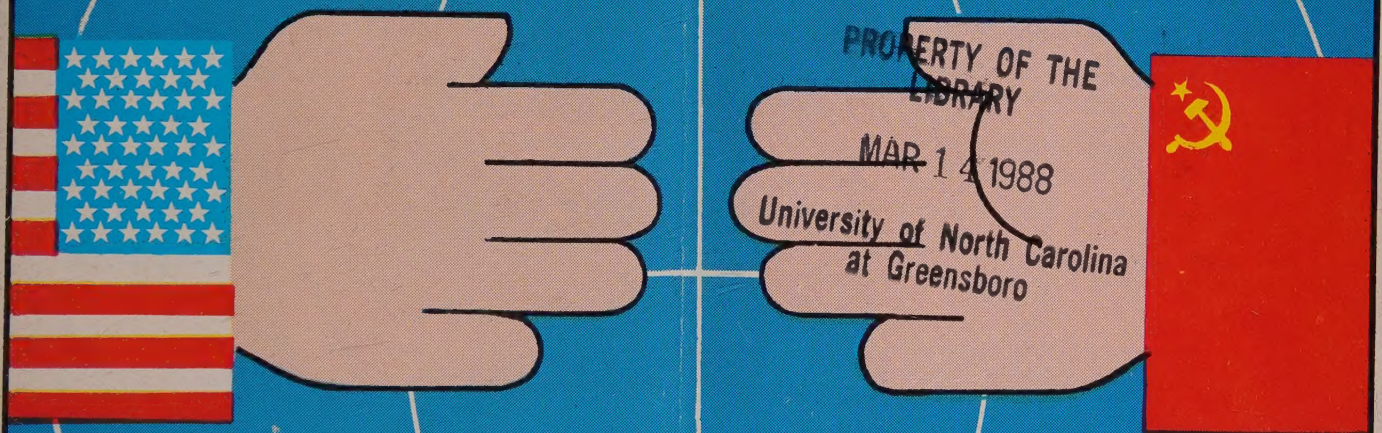


AKTHROUGH INTO TOMORROW.
SCIENTISTS ABOUT THE FUTURE

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES



ON THE EVE OF THE SUMMIT

NIKITA MIKHALKOV: THE TRUTH I AM AFTER

1917-1987

TIME AND PEOPLE

On August 5, 1963, foreign news agencies were busy teletyping urgent messages, for the most part from Moscow. The American paper The Daily News headlined its report from the Soviet capital "Big Three Sign Treaty. Cordiality Reigns in Kremlin."

In the summer of 1963 the United States accepted the Soviet proposal that negotiations be held on ending nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water. The result was the first nuclear test ban treaty to which more than 100 countries acceded in 1963. Shortly afterwards, Moscow and Washington agreed on the non-orbiting of nuclear arms.

The U.S.S.R. continued its effort for peace. In 1964, the Soviet government reduced its military spending by 600 million rubles, and proclaimed its readiness to negotiate a universal cutback on such spending with Western powers. This proposal was, however, never accepted.

Soviet peace bids indicated a realistic way out of the impasse. Compelled

to reckon with the realities of the time, Washington abandoned its doctrine of "massive retaliation."

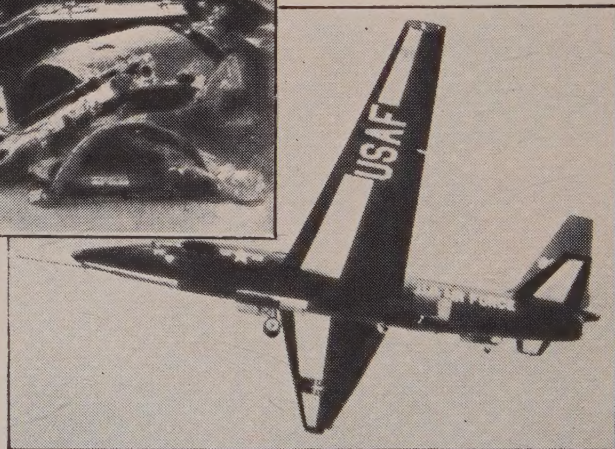
Realizing that a direct armed conflict with the socialist world would be suicidal, the U.S.A. sought to avenge itself on the national liberation movement, which was gaining in strength. The year 1964 ended with the roar of U.S. planes disgorging a Belgian airborne force over the Congo. In 1965, blasts shook Vietnamese soil, and the Dominican Republic was invaded. And in 1966, the U.S. Secretary of War boasted that in March alone the number of bombs dropped on Vietnam had topped the World War II monthly average in Africa and Europe.

Newly independent nations proved increasingly frequently, however, that a people fighting for autonomy and freedom cannot be subdued. The need to restructure international relations steadily grew in urgency.

In 1966, Moscow played host to General de Gaulle, the President of France. It was stressed in a joint declaration that détente was the first and vital stage of desirable progress in relations between European countries, irrespective of their political systems. In December 1969, the U.S.S.R. and the F.R.G. entered into negotiations aimed at improving relations between them. In November of the same year, Soviet-American talks on the limitation of offensive and defensive strategic weapon systems began.



General de Gaulle receiving an enthusiastic welcome in the Soviet Union. ● The wreckage of the U-2 spy plane shot down over Soviet territory on May 1, 1960. ● The U-2 spy plane in flight. ● The Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water being signed in Moscow, 1963.



CONTENTS

2
Editorial
TESTED BY PRACTICE

3
Alexander Pumpyansky. **ON THE
EVE OF THE SUMMIT**

6
Arkady Sidoruk. **BOTH SIDES SHOULD
MAKE BOLD DECISIONS**

7
Galina Sidorova. **WHEN WILL
BRITAIN JOIN IN?**

10
In search of the future
**BREAKTHROUGH INTO
TOMORROW**

12
Observer's view
Boris Kozlov. **YESTERDAY, TODAY,
TOMORROW**

14
Poland
Vladimir Kulistikov. **THE REFORM
PUT TO THE VOTE**

16
Taking up a point
Valery Begishev. **NOT A CURE-ALL
BUT A MEDICINE**

18
The past and the present
Georgy Shakhnazarov. **THE MOMENT OF
FEAR AND REVELATION**

20
U.S.S.R.: restructuring and democracy
Domenico Rosati: **"PLANET RUSSIA"
REMAINS UNDISCOVERED**



Nikolai Vavilov. The lessons of a fate.



Ruse: Bulgaria's "front door" on the Danube.



All the members of the Georgian Nartaa ensemble are centenarians or approaching the century mark.

22
NIKOLAI VAVILOV: "LIFE IS SHORT,
BUT I HAVE PLANS
FOR 100 YEARS
AHEAD..."

24
Medicine
Andrei Malenkov. **DISCOVERY No. 330**

26
New Times expedition
Lev Yelin. **FRIENDS
AND PARTNERS**

28
Religion
ISLAM REJECTS VIOLENCE
Shaikh ul-Islam Allashukur Pasha-zade,
Chairman, Muslim Board
for Transcaucasia, interviewed by New
Times

30
Literature
Natalya Daryalova. **"I TRANSLATE MY
PREFERENCES..."**

31
Culture and politics
Nikita Mikhalkov. **THE TRUTH I AM AFTER**

NEW TIMES

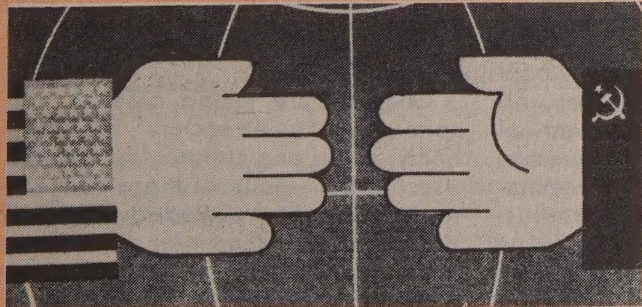
Editor-in-Chief
VITALY IGNATENKO

Associate Editors:
L. ABRAMOV,
L. BEZYMENSKY,
V. CHERNYAVSKY,
S. GOLYAKOV,
V. KULISTIKOV,
L. MLECHIN
A. PIN,
B. PISHCHIK,
D. POGORZHEL'SKY,
A. PUMPYANSKY,
Y. SHEVCHENKO

Editor of English edition:
E. Smirnov

3, 6, 7, 10

Geneva,
Reykjavik,
and now
Washington.
The world
expects
the current
Soviet-American
summit to
bring cardinal
solutions
in the field
of disarmament.



TESTED BY PRACTICE

We often meet war veterans. They remember with gratitude American soldiers who also fought against the Nazi invaders. Today, when a huge arsenal of nuclear weapons has been accumulated, the Soviet people and the Americans should work together to preserve peace for coming generations. That is why we are looking forward to the Gorbachev-Reagan meeting with impatience and excitement. We believe that a treaty eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles will be signed. It is our hope that President Reagan will go halfway to meet the desire of the people of our small planet and do his best to remove the nuclear threat forever.

Pupils of the fourth form, Nizhny Kachmash secondary school, Bashkirian Autonomous Republic, U.S.S.R.

A distinguished U.S. physician observed a quarter of a century ago that all of us live in fear that something might give in the environment and humanity might disappear, as did the dinosaurs millennia ago. This fear has only intensified since then. No country, on its own, can solve the ecological problem. For this long-term international cooperation is needed. But the industrialized capitalist nations are stingy when it comes to preserving nature.

EMANUELA DEL DUCA
Rome, Italy

I propose to declare 1989 a year of trust. This means that no military exercises should be held in that year in either NATO or Warsaw Treaty states.

NAIL ISSA OGLY
METKHIEV
Baku, U.S.S.R.

The word "perestroika" has become known the world over. Vladimir Dahl, the famous compiler of the Russian - language dictionary published last century, defined the word as follows: "To reconstruct a business, a system of management - to change it in a new way." A contemporary dictionary of the Russian language gives the following interpretation: "To reform - to change one's habits of work, the direction of one's activity, one's views."

The first definition, more remote in time, is closer to what the Soviet people are now engaged in. Indeed, a good deal has changed in a new way, and still more is going to change. Our society is to change in a way that will conform with our moral standards. We are actively applying moral standards to spheres where they were not applied before. For instance, in the economy.

Is it moral to work at half capacity or to take more than one gives to society? Is it just to tamper with nature in such a way that our children and grandchildren will have only a memory of it? Different questions and, even more so, different answers. What is important, however, is our approach to problems, our moral approach.

What has perestroika brought the Soviet people? This question is being asked both by our readers and by foreigners with whom we happen to talk.

Our social priorities have changed, and much greater concern is being shown for people. Scientific and technological progress is now directed towards the speedier and more purposeful development of key branches. The sphere of management and the economic mechanism as a whole are being readjusted. Radical changes in the economy are impossible without reliance on the people, without their participa-

tion in the adoption and implementation of decisions, without openness and democracy.

More houses are being built now than before, and the food supply to the population has improved. Though food supply and well-appointed housing are matters of paramount importance, no less important is how an individual feels morally. Do people feel that a great deal depends on them or do they still consider themselves "small cogs" - citizens without full rights and with little responsibility? The latter is easier, while the former is more interesting, albeit more complex.

Perestroika is felt in great and small affairs alike. Take our magazine, for instance. The Russian-language edition has been enlarged by half. The editions in other languages are to be similarly increased in size. This is dictated by the need to give fuller coverage to the open, honest, peaceful Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the achievements of socialism, and to explain its approach to key issues of the present time.

New Times intends to publish more, and more varied views, the views of Soviet and foreign journalists, political and public leaders, and its readers.

"In my opinion," "it seems to me," "I think" - these introductory phrases in articles should be indicative of the desire of their authors to state their personal position. The comparison and even the clash of positions help bring out the truth.

Changes are taking place in all spheres of Soviet society. The economy, social and cultural life, human psychology - none of these components can be excluded without detriment to the common cause from the cardinal transformation that is reshaping our life in a new way.



WASHINGTON

REPORT BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

ON THE EVE OF THE SUMMIT

ALEXANDER PUMPYANSKY

Sir Walter Scott's novel "The Talisman" ends with that marvellous account of the meeting between the Egyptian Sultan Salah-al-Din and King Richard the Lion Hearted of England in the middle of the desert in the Holy Land. Richard takes his sword, "a broad straight blade... which extended wellnigh from the shoulder to the heel... stretches it up above his giant frame and brings it crashing down on a steel bar an inch and a half thick. The bar breaks clean in two, the sword is unscathed. Then Salah-al-Din bares his lean, sinewy arm, stretches out his scimitar, 'a curved and narrow blade... of a dull blue colour,' drops a veil over it and cuts the veil in two with one flick of his wrist."

That is how the great novelist pictures the beginning of the first summit meeting in history. Today's author would probably paint a different picture. He would probably have the sword break, not the bar sliced, and then the scimitar would break - as a symbol of the end of war and the beginning of eternal peace. In reality Richard and Salah-al-Din never met face to face. Richard repeatedly invited him to a meeting, but Salah-al-din invariably turned down the invitation as he maintained that "kings should meet together only after the conclusion of an accord, for it is unthinkable for them to wage war once they know one another and have broken bread together."

Royal camps were set up several miles apart and all communication was through couriers. Difficult negotiations took months. Hostilities continued, but at the same time both sides were unstinting in shows of courtesy. To the dismay of the Crusaders Richard even made Salah-al-Din a knight. And the entire Christian world was horrified when he promised to give his sister Joan, the widow of the King of Sicily, in marriage to the brother of the Egyptian Sultan Saffadin, who was the chief mediator in the talks. Apparently, the noble Richard was much less concerned about how his sister would fit into a Muslim harem than the idea of gaining a foothold in Jerusalem. The newlyweds were to become the rulers - or co-rulers - of the Holy City. Like many other unorthodox ideas, the project never got off the ground, but on September 2, 1192, a treaty between Richard and Salah-al-Din was solemnized. It gave the Crusaders a string of towns along the Mediterranean coast and Christian pilgrims the right to free access to the holy places in Jerusalem. That was a major compromise.

What was it that had made it possible to reconcile, if only for a time, such irreconcilable interests, and stop a Holy war? The answer is to be found in a sentence from Richard's message: "Men of ours and yours have died, the country is in ruins, and events have entirely escaped anyone's control. Do you not believe that it is enough? There must be an end to all this." That sounds remarkably in tune with today.

What makes summits happen

Well, having done with curious illustrations and reminiscences that are not strictly historically true, I think a very simple answer can be given to the natural question: "How come all these Soviet-American summits in just over two years?" They apparently stemmed from the mutual belief (or at least feeling) that "it is enough" and "there must be an end to all this."

By the mid-eighties, the situation in Soviet-American relations (and consequently in East-West relations as a whole) was giving rise to the greatest concern. Who was to blame? Probably neither side was innocent. But the degree of blame was not equal.

For America the eighties were a time of stormy attacks from the right. "A Conservative revolution" - how can two such contrary ideas be combined? It would be far more natural to say that the right takes revenge, a full-scale right offensive. But that would be an incomplete picture. Past quests met headlong with the waves of the future: the military-technological revolution, with its miracles small and great, right up to "star wars." The social reaction picked up the fruit of the military-technological revolution - that is, the brief formula of Reagan's presidency, and it includes extreme aggressiveness, contempt for past experience, self-satisfaction and militarist braggadocio. Détente became a dirty word, and was buried completely. Cold War Two began.

For the Soviet Union, this was a period later described as the period of stagnation. It would be a mistake, however, to apply the description given to domestic policy to foreign policy as well - in the sphere of foreign policy there had always been a number of truly able people awake to the challenge of the times. But on the whole the foreign policy of a great socialist power should be more dynamic and purposeful, broader in scope and with greater readiness for compromise on the

basis of reasonable priorities affecting all of mankind. That was lacking at the time. Of course, one could say that it's easier to destroy than to build, that you can't stop destruction. Nevertheless the impression was that the initiative was in the hands of the go-getting American right, who made no secret of their desire to destroy all that had been built with such difficulty in the field of arms control.

Reagan's skill and unrestrained "diplomacy for the public" against the background of the prolonged absence of Soviet leaders on the political stage only strengthened this impression. As a result, all talks between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. were either discontinued or failed. The arms race took a great leap forward. It was obviously time to pose that sacramental question: "Do you not believe that it is enough? That there must be an end to all this?"

That question produced Geneva.

Geneva's step forward, Reykjavik's chance

The first Gorbachev-Reagan summit on November 19-21, 1985, brought the world...words. But what words! To quote the key paragraph from the Joint Soviet-American statement:

"The sides, having discussed key security issues, and conscious of the special responsibility of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. for maintaining peace, have agreed that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. Recognizing that any conflict between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. could have catastrophic consequences, they emphasized the importance of preventing any war between them - whether nuclear or conventional. They will not seek to achieve military superiority."

The world had had its fill of rhetoric, but such words could not be dismissed as such. These words summed up all past development and contained the embryo of a new political process. Nuclear war has cancelled itself out - each of the sides had enough, more than enough weapons to destroy both the other and itself....The very concept of military superiority became senseless, not to mention the fact that postwar experience had also shown that it was a mirage.

Indeed, a major war as a reasonable means (that is one that would achieve the desired result) for attaining political ends should never have been allowed to cross into our century. Wars in the 20th century have become too big. Both the first and the second world wars had many fathers. But their outcome was the collapse of all

prewar calculations, fiasco for all who believed that resorting to force would help. The nuclear bomb - that absolute weapon - only underlined that sentence passed on war, since if we allowed it to be unleashed it would mean carrying out a death sentence on mankind.

The best minds realized the truth of this. However, it was the first instance of the political leaders of two great powers having underwritten it.

But if nuclear war is the end to end all ends, public recognition of the senselessness and catastrophic consequences of nuclear war marks the beginning of a new policy. Logic prompts the next question: that being so, who needs the mountains of weapons? Surely the security of the Soviet Union or the United States would not suffer if each side were able to destroy all life on Earth not 6-10 times over but "just" 3-5 times over? Or - let our imagination soar to the skies - just once or only by 50 per cent (even in the latter case the combined might of the two superpowers would be enough to wipe out all of mankind). The "deterrent" effect - and that worries geostrategists much more than does the survival of mankind - would in all these cases remain completely unchanged. Thus the greedy ghost of superiority looming on the horizon of political thought was replaced by the much more modest and attractive idea of sufficiency.

One paragraph of the Geneva communiqué opens the way for radical cuts (by 80-90 per cent) in strategic arms. For a start, by a half. Even in the best years of détente, this was undreamt of. Today it is the next item on the practical agenda. We'll have to wait and see what interpretation this is given in Washington and, most important of all, how much closer the new summit will bring the answer.

Within the framework of the same logic, the zero option for two classes of missiles - with ranges of between 500 and 5,500 km became possible. If a draw is inevitable, then the time has come to exchange pieces....

Today that has almost been put into practice. In Geneva, it was only a theory, even the beginning of a theory just formulated as a principle to start with. It took Reykjavik (October 11-12 1986) to make the intellectual and political breakthrough from a possible premise to possible action. Gorbachev's "Reykjavik plan" was majestic: to achieve a nuclear-free world before the end of the century. It was a plan on a scale that allowed one to speak of a real turning point in history, in the destiny of mankind. But that turning point did not immediately come about.

What did come of it?

The zero option. Chances of a 50 per cent cut.... That is much less than a nuclear-free world tomorrow. But that would be, or rather, we would like to be able to say, will be, a gigantic step forward.

No straightjacket was put on the nuclear madness in Reykjavik, but at least the measurements were taken.

I remember when the outcome of Reykjavik was announced. The press conference given by the Soviet leader. Gorbachev's feelings adding acuteness to our own. The effect was amazing: there was an almost physical sensation of a historic victory of which all of us - Russians, Americans and the rest of the world - were deprived at the last moment.

Had there been a chance?

Later in our discussions we returned to this matter - the turning point that had not occurred - many times. Views differed, and so greatly that they could be described as diametrically opposed. Some said that never had agreement seemed so near. Others, that it was impossible in principle. And one of the junior participants in those dramatic negotiations said in a private conversation: "Perhaps it was all for the best that at the last moment the President was afraid to put his signature to a general agreement...." Such a view seemed more than strange. For I remember how, as session followed session at Hövdi house, he had become increasingly enthusiastic, hopeful, happy, believing success to be near, until the last session and the sobering finale. "But why?" The American right would never have accepted such a result, I was told. They would have exploded any agreement and then the world would have been thrown back for many light years. Judging from the reaction of the right even to what had **not been achieved** in Reykjavik, and to the rather rough manoeuvring in Washington's corridors of

power before this summit, I have to concede that this unhappy conclusion was not unfounded.

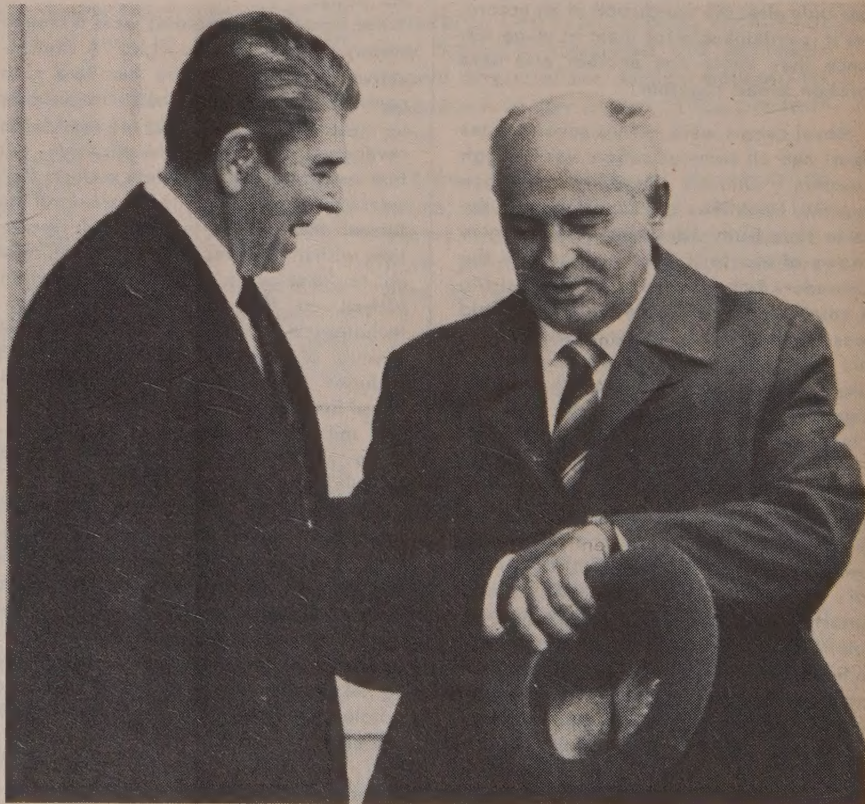
It took a year after Reykjavik to make a bird in the hand out of two in the bush, to carve out of the Utopia a pragmatic plan that could be adopted today. But what can one do when it takes two to tango, and the more one partner is out of step, the more the other has to adapt. The new Soviet foreign policy team has proved that it can be flexible and considerate - and that is wonderful. Nevertheless, the concepts of Utopia and realism, and their relationship in modern politics merit special discussion.

Utopia - is there anything wrong with it?

I would like to say that the absence of an ultimate programme goal in the field of nuclear disarmament is simply impractical. Strange as it may seem, achieving more is simpler than achieving less in this field.

The questions of strategic arms, medium-range missiles, nuclear tests and space weapons are all in themselves complex ones, but they are all easier to resolve if they are interconnected (not linked, but interconnected) and if they are subordinated to an overall objective. In this case each ceases to be an all-important issue on which it is necessary to stand firm and bargain to the very end.

October 1986, Reykjavik. It was then that Soviet-American negotiations, for all their drama, took a more practical turn.



They become part of a whole, stages on a common road that brings one closer to the ultimate, agreed-on goal. And that being the case, it leaves the partners more room to manoeuvre. They are readier to make concessions and reach compromises. Without mentioning the fact that it makes for greater trust.

The existence, or otherwise, of an ultimate goal conditions the very climate of relations and talks. If both sides seek to attain the heights of a demilitarized world, then the adversary turns into a partner. If, however, the maximum task is to restrict one class of weapons or another, that is, to put only one aspect of the arms race under control, the partner remains an adversary. There remains room for suspicion: is the other side seeking advantages for itself and, in the final count, military superiority?

The thesis that complete nuclear disarmament is plain Utopianism is usually backed up by a very simple argument: nuclear weapons are the backbone of the "deterrent" which has kept the postwar peace....After all, you can't just disinvent them....

The deterrent concept is in reality full of internal contradictions. It does indeed insure you against any aggressive foolhardiness on the part of "the other side." But at what price? The price of turning any conflict into a worldwide catastrophe. The risk of the self-combustion of nuclear arsenals - a military Chernobyl, infinitely more horrible than Hiroshima.

So why should deterrence be ensured by nothing less than the monstrous potential for self-destruction - after all, we do not take a bag of dynamite with us when we leave the house to safeguard ourselves against unpleasant encounters?

Nuclear weapons cannot, of course, be disinvented. But that, incidentally, is an argument in favour of disarmament and not the reverse.

If the purpose of nuclear weapons is to ensure that they are never used, why not try and understand something else: for the deterrent factor to operate it is not at all necessary for nuclear weapons to exist physically; it can operate with the idea. A potential aggressor would be deterred by the very idea that his adversary would have no trouble in returning to nuclear weapons....Such an ideal concept of deterrence is infinitely preferable to an existing deterrent. However, the Gentlemen and Ladies of State in the West seem unable to accept this simple idea. Whether they wish it or not, they place the idea of a crusade against a system unlike their own above the task of preventing a thermonuclear catastrophe, above the priority objective to ensure the survival of mankind. The crusades proclaimed from time to time by President Reagan provide particularly striking illustrations of such an approach.

A nuclear-free world is not a Utopia, but the only realistic path along which history can advance. Making an idol of nuclear weapons is not realism, but the best way of

turning the most gloomy anti-Utopia into a reality.

So those who seek to belittle the idea by writing it off as Utopia are acting either through ignorance or lack of ethical principles. Utopia is a great idea born before the time was ripe. Perhaps one could call Christ the greatest of Utopians. Could that be why the God-fearing West refuses to follow his behest to beat "swords into ploughshares" and accuses the atheist East of excessive faith in a better future for mankind? A purely superficial paradox. Genuine realism is impossible without spirituality, without humanism.

It is not a question of religious faith, but of a realistic recognition of reality. Time has caught up with the idea of disarmament. When the quantity of arms in the West reaches a critical mass, disarmament is no longer just an idea, nor a matter of morality, but a problem of physical survival.

Margin of accord

The chartered flight of journalists from Moscow to Washington arrived several days before Gorbachev's plane. The press needed to look around and get a whiff of the general atmosphere. Correspondents from the dailies have a harder time - the ever-hungry press awaits their dispatches round the clock. But they have their advantages as well - today's views can be modified or changed tomorrow, and lack of hard news can always be made up for with a mass of details. When you are writing for a magazine, that is impossible. Or, to be more exact, it won't make its pages - things like details of Nancy Reagan's elegant outfits or a description of the number of steps leading to the White House, painted or, as the case may be, not painted for the occasion....

So let us leave alone the stage before the first bell rings. The only question that interests everyone before the summit is what it will achieve. A treaty on eliminating missiles - medium- and shorter-range - will undoubtedly be signed. Probably some form of agreement will be formulated jointly on 50 per cent cuts - as a preliminary for another summit. The invitation to President Reagan to visit Moscow in the spring and summer of 1988 will naturally be confirmed. What remains most unclear at present is space. On the issue of the ABM Treaty, the hardest thing of all is to find a common stand, or at least a common formula that will not upset the possibility of a cut in offensive missiles, and at the same time not cause panic among the supporters of the President's "starry" dream of a nuclear shield. In the field of humanitarian, cultural and scientific contacts, we can count on new hopes....The discussions on human rights and regional problems will, as always, be sharp. But perhaps new insights will emerge?

What interests people most is a new

tone in relations. Will that new tone appear in superpower relations?

The U.S.S.R. and the U.S. How do we stand in relation to each other? How are we likely to stand after the summit? Today one can already suggest the limits of the possible and the directions of the desirable.

Enemies - competitors - allies - friends?

From this quartet who, like the swan, crab and fish in Krylov's fable are pulling in different directions, one could well dispense with the two extremes. In the nuclear age we cannot afford to be enemies - if we were, there would have been no sense in meeting for a third time. But nor, unfortunately, will it be possible for us to become friends in the near future - the momentum of confrontation is too great.

There remain two possibilities - one being over-hasty and the other is too slow, and could put on speed.

Competitors? Yes, but in a civilized world. Rivals competing in ideas, ways of life, economic models. Without resorting to psychological warfare and poisoning each other's wells or wishing a plague on each other's houses. We've had enough of fanaticism. We've had enough of sowing dragon's teeth and recoiling from phantoms. Accusations that Moscow is encouraging world revolution are hopelessly out of date. In turn, Moscow is now giving serious thought to what for it is a new question: is it right to equate capitalism with militarism, or capitalism with neocolonialism? It has been realized that it is not enough to brand a system that is not to our liking; one has to analyze it properly, without blinkers and without bias. One has to be able to see even in its ruling classes forces with which one can maintain a dialogue on an equal footing and jointly seek a future acceptable to all. And, of course, it is high time we stopped drawing Hollywood or other stage sets of Empires of Evil or Empires of Good and thinking up scripts for "star wars" or other wars between them.

And, finally, doesn't life itself demand that we become allies in the most sacred of wars - as we once were - but this time not against fascism but against war itself? So as to fight together, side by side, in the numerous battles mankind is waging against hunger and disease, degradation of the environment, and backwardness.... That too is a battle for life or death, but it is war for something, not against. For the human race, for a united mankind.

Some may see signs of Utopia in these words, an attractive but unattainable condition. But again this is not just hope, but pragmatism. Because it is as clear as day that if the two great powers waste themselves in enmity, the war cannot be won. For the war for life mankind is waging to have any chance of success, the Soviet Union and the United States must be on the same side. That, if you like, is their duty to all.

Moscow-Washington

EXPERT OPINION



NEW YORK

Both sides should make bold decisions

JOHN MROZ, president of Institute for East-West Security Studies, and IRA WALLACH, businessman, co-founder of the institute and chairman of its executive committee, interviewed by New Times.

N.T.: What do you expect of the Soviet-American summit in Wasdington!

Mroz: First of all, the signing of a treaty on intermediate-range missiles. It will be the first treaty of its kind, the first agreement on the actual elimination of a whole class of weapons. In this sense it radically differs from the treaties concluded earlier.

There are clear indications that President Reagan and other people in Washington would look forward to the next year's summit in Moscow with a further series of agreements. Hopefully, they will be concerned with a 50-per-cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons.

The Soviet Union links this issue with the Strategic Defence Initiative, and the United States, with the issue of conventional armaments. Therefore, it will be a very difficult but not an impossible task. I think the discussion between Reagan and Gorbachev in Washington will be critical.

The Americans have watched Mr Gorbachev only on television during his visits to London, Prague, Warsaw, as well as in Canada and other countries. But they have never seen him in the United States. It is important for the Americans to get to see everything with their own eyes.

Seeing a dynamic, forceful and open leader like Mr Gorbachev is going to have a psychological impact on Americans.

Going back to the point of the importance of Mr Gorbachev's views being heard and understood in this country, I was very surprised and pleased reading his book "Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World."

His critical remarks about the Soviet Union and its past, and his admission of the existing problems have produced a deep impression on us.

If the Soviet leader talks in Washington publicly the way he talks in his book, this will make a big impression in the United States at a time when the Americans are

deciding how to build their future relations with your country.

Wallach: I think the world is in a mess because so much of its material wealth is wasted on the preparation of war. Besides, there is no full realization of the fact that it is one world and that whatever happens anywhere affects everyone living on earth. I agree with the vision of the world as Mr Gorbachev would like it to be.

It is necessary that the United Nations has a special armed force for an effective maintenance of peace, that the United Nations should be able to take effective decisions and enforce them, and have money to support its operations. I think Mr Gorbachev understands all this better than many politicians in the United States.

I'm looking forward to the time when general and complete disarmament will become a reality, and I wish Mr Gorbachev luck in carrying out his desires.

N.T.: Do you think that the Soviet-American meeting could be the first step in improving relations between the two countries?

Mroz: I think it is the first step towards a real process of disarmament. The next agreements we want are in the nuclear sphere, as well as in the sphere of conventional and chemical weapons. What is important now is the first step in the process of ending the arms race. It is going to be a while before we stop the arms race. Let us hope for an end of the cold war and for the opening of new forms of competition. There is nothing wrong about competition. But it is important what forms of competition we choose.

N.T.: What are the prospects for the conclusion of strategic arms agreements in the near future?

Mroz: I think it is going to depend on several factors, first of all, on how seriously both sides treat the issues of conventional armaments and SDI, because there are

obviously linkages between them. We have fears connected with the issue of land-based ICMBs and the issue of the balance of conventional forces.

Now we also have things you see as a threat to you. Let's find them and put those things on the table. The most important element now for the ratification of a future treaty is that we see signs of a serious approach by your side to the problem of conventional armaments.

As you know, Senators Nunn and Warner are going to put a rider on the ratification of a treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles, linking it with certain reductions in conventional armaments.

If the INF treaty is ratified (and I think it will be), if both sides scrupulously adhere to this treaty, and if some real progress on conventional arms is achieved in the next six months, then, I think, another summit will take place in Moscow in 1988. A major agreement on a 50 per cent reduction of strategic forces could very well be achieved at this summit. I think we can reach such an agreement.

N.T.: What can you say about SDI, since it creates not a few problems in the dialogue between our states?

Mroz: The problems are serious, indeed. But both sides have to accept the fact that some form of space defence will be implemented by them. We are no longer in a position to prevent this. We have missed the opportunity. I'm not saying who is to blame, but the fact is that we have missed the opportunity. We have to try now at least to restrict this process. Research will continue on both sides.

However, the question is decided by politicians, not scientists. Politicians decide whether to start or not a full-scale arms race in outer space. I think the answer must be "no."

Many people still consider Mr Gorbachev's bold idea of having a nuclear-free world by the year 2000 unrealizable, but I see that most no longer say it is impossible. It is a step-by-step process we have to carry out, and it requires bold decisions by both sides. I think we are capable of doing that.

Interviewer **ARKADY SIDORUK**
New York



INTERVIEWING A POLITICIAN

When will Britain join in?

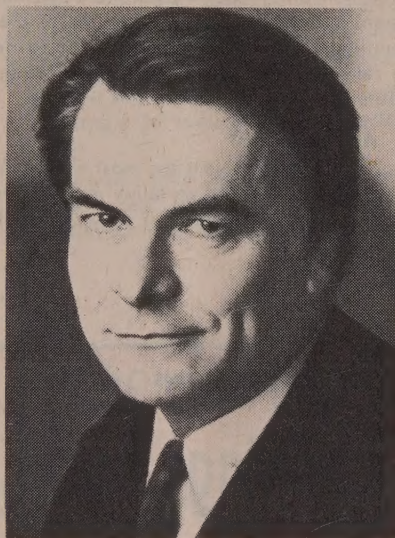
LONDON

Our special correspondent
GALINA SIDOROVA reports:

Switching on the TV in London these days one found one and the same topic practically at any time of the day: the meeting of the Soviet and British leaders in Moscow and the Gorbachev visit to London several years ago. That recent history was being recalled in connection with the coming Washington summit. And then a few days ago "hot news" flashed on TV screens: on his way to Washington the Soviet leader would stop over in Britain and have talks with the Prime Minister Mrs. Thatcher. In diplomatic parlance this is known as a flying visit. Local colleagues immediately started guessing what would be discussed during the three-hour talks, and who is more interested in them. In my opinion, guessing who stands to gain or lose is a senseless affair. The interest is mutual. On the Soviet side it reflects recognition of the role Britain could play in strengthening European and world security. On the British side, the wish to participate in a process ushering in a new stage in East-West relations and in the history of mankind in general. London's position contains an internal contradiction: it wants to influence events and be part of them, but so far it is not contemplating joining in the negotiations on nuclear disarmament. It is that which is now arousing such stormy discussions in British political circles. There are arguments about Britain's own nuclear deterrent force, the minimal level required for defence, the Labour Party's declared policy that it favours unilateral nuclear disarmament, which some analysts believe brought them defeat at the election. Support for unilateral British nuclear disarmament was reaffirmed at the recent annual conference of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

The situation today has no single interpretation. To understand it one has to know all viewpoints. What is at stake is the country's prestige, but the thing is that different quarters interpret it differently, often in directly opposite ways. The

magazine will in one of its future issues write in greater detail about these debates that could affect the further course of events in Britain and her foreign policy. Today we tell you about an interview which we had together with the Komso-



Dr David Owen.

molskaya Pravda correspondent Yuri Sagaidak on the eve of the flying visit and the talks in Washington. The interview was with Dr David Owen, M.P. - once Britain's youngest ever Foreign Secretary in the Labour government, then Social Democratic leader and today one of Britain's most able politicians. We were looking forward to the interview also because Dr Owen's views could be described as middle-of-the-road, a stand which many prominent politicians are now moving towards.

What role could Britain play in strengthening European security and in the disarmament process in which the Soviet Union and the United States are now actively involved?

Well, I think that we are getting very close to the time when bilateral talks between the Soviet Union and the United States on disarmament will be insufficient. The INF agreement is important. But an even more important agreement will be a 50 per cent reduction in strategic arms. And I think progress on this will be made in Washington. Once that is achieved I think you will find it will have an impact on other countries. I think it is unreasonable to believe that you will be able to go on making cuts in Soviet and U.S. arsenals without some understanding that it must involve Britain, France and China. Britain must be ready to participate in those discussions and I think we should be at the table, not having them discussed through third parties.

Why do you think some West European leaders are so worried by a future INF agreement?

Because they've always seen part of Soviet diplomatic and military policy to be to uncouple the United States from the defence of Europe. And the problem we have had until recently is that the world superpowers had the dominance in world policy. This is now drawing to a natural end. Bipolarity has changed to multipolarity. I think that you both are determining the course of events less than, say, 15 years ago. One of the reasons that you're economically weaker is that you have taken on the global swell which goes beyond your interests and you've overstretched your resources. Domestic economic problems in the Soviet Union, the huge budget deficit in the United States caused by excessive military expenditure - largely for maintenance of U.S. forces in Europe - pushes you towards one another and therefore to disarmament. Western Europe is reluctant to pay higher

defence bills. So any reduction whether of U.S. conventional troop forces or nuclear missiles causes a shadow of apprehension because we are not self-confident that we will fill the gap. This adds to the anxiety. There is an inherent geographical factor. The United States is tied to us by common values, ideals and history, but it is separated by 3,000 nautical miles. With you - everything is the other way round. Your nuclear arsenals are part of the continent of Europe which we share. And that's behind the Western logic - the wish to have Americans on the ground in Western Europe. It corrects the geographical asymmetry. Now you for obvious reasons want to reduce or remove it.

The economic potential of Europe is now higher than that of the Soviet Union and the United States. We are by any normal standards quite able to grapple without the same level of United States support as in the past. So for that reason there are some of us in this country and pretty everybody in France who believe that while you retain your nuclear arsenal, we should too. That's my position.

And what nuclear potential do you think Britain needs?

Before answering that question, one observation. The reappraisal now taking place in the policy of the leading nuclear powers. For years the American and your nuclear arsenals grew and grew, and the leaders matched every step of each other. Now, I believe, even many generals have

begun to realize the folly of this. The new Soviet leadership has come to the problem with a fresh eye. It appears now that President Reagan, despite his previous position, has also taken a new look at the situation. You agreed that you are not going to get damaged by a 50 per cent reduction. In other words, we are beginning to get into the most fascinating area of nuclear strategy, which is the minimum deterrent. And we are moving to keeping a nuclear deterrent, which is second strike, as it should be.

That doesn't mean we have to have equality of weapons with you. The interesting thing is that China has been in advance of us all - it understood a minimal nuclear deterrent before us all. They have not got around to this matching business. Britain and France will have to be involved in any future talks. Otherwise, one fine day we could find ourselves with 20 Trident submarines instead of the several we have now. Multilateral negotiations is in the Soviet interests as well, because we, like you, don't like "star wars." We, like you, fear that it will step up expenses, unrestrained new technologies. You'll find in Britain and France a passionate commitment to the ABM Treaty. So on the whole, multilateral arms negotiations seems to me a very sensible objective of Soviet foreign policy.

And of British?

Well, it's not. This is the most extraordinary thing. I would certainly make it my policy. But Mrs Thatcher is very reluctant,

because she feels that the British potential will be out. And so will the French. I don't understand their position, and so I'm not the best person to explain it. The paradox is that the government is apprehensive about multilateral discussions and they also fear that the Americans will do a deal over and above our heads, as essentially they did at Reykjavik - their commitment to remove all strategic arms, including ballistic missiles. It was done without any discussion with us. Although in principle I agree with this.

I think that strategic weaponry are potentially first-strike weapon systems. I mean that they can go up in space. I feel personally that you can have minimum deterrence without them. If I were Britain's prime minister today I would go for non-ballistic missiles, for cruise missiles. They have their verification problems. But the basic thing is that they are in essence second-strike systems. You and the Americans have already gone down the route for the complete removal of such missile systems. So far the American administration is not hopeful about getting approval for such a global action - neither from the military nor Congress. So for some time yet we'll go on with a mixed arsenal of ballistic and non-ballistic systems.

What about the so-called "British independent deterrence potential?" Is it really independent?



MOSCOW

PUBLIC OPINION POLL

Looking forward to the summit

What do the Soviet people think of the summit dialogues - Geneva - Reykjavik - Washington?

Sociologists who took part in the International Barometer of Peace project offer some of their findings to New Times readers.

Two years later

Two years ago, after the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Geneva, the Centre of Public Opinion at the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute of Sociological Research conducted a poll. The question put was: "Did the results of the meeting live up to your expectations?"

Six respondents in ten answered "in part." The remain-

ing four were divided equally between the "Yeses" and the "Noes." This reaction proved to be the result of exaggerated hopes for the first dialogue between Soviet and American leaders after a long break.

However, this modest appraisal of the Geneva results did not affect hopes linked to a future meeting. In the autumn

of 1985 80 per cent of Muscovites were counting on a substantial improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations after a new round of summit talks.

October, 1986. Reykjavik. A working meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. Almost 90 per cent of those polled after Reykjavik believed that the meeting was

a good step forward to agreement and elucidation of the stand of each country on important problems. 90 per cent favoured another summit.

And now, a year later, we have Washington. On November 20 we conducted a new poll in Moscow. It revealed that Soviet people were shedding their oversimplified views, and that they expected less. Only 13 per cent of Muscovites now believe that major results are to be expected from the Washington meeting; 40 per cent expect average results; while three out of ten feel that only

No, it is not completely, although we can activate it ourselves if the situation calls for it. It is not easy to define the rationale behind the concept of the British independent deterrent, just as behind the concept of deterrence in general. British military-political concepts today tend to make us a Europe-oriented country more than ever before. It seems most unlikely that Britain could ever think of using nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union in isolation from France.

Don't you have to consult Washington?

We don't. The only reason we want to have an independent nuclear deterrent is because we know that no U.S. President would even contemplate running the risk of losing Detroit for the sake of, say, Düsseldorf. We know what American isolationism is. On the other hand, possession of a system that can be used at our discretion ties the United States to us.

Could progress on the reduction of nuclear arsenals block the Trident programme?

Theoretically it could, yes. It would be a breach of faith between Britain and the United States. We learnt what that could mean several decades ago when the Americans shut their laboratories to our scientists. My wife is an American. I like Americans, but I am always careful in dealing with them. Because it could happen again. That's why I'm for Anglo-French cooperation. If Mrs Thatcher's government had not tied itself to the

Trident agreement, but cooperated, say, with the French, we would not have been tied to the American system for the next 20-30 years. We are going to spend so much money on the Trident that in 1991 you couldn't possibly cancel it unless you didn't want your own deterrent.

But what concrete steps towards disarmament could Britain make in the nearest future?

I think we should go for multilateral negotiations. Let's say, we don't. It would be reasonable if America and the Soviet Union cut their strategic arsenals by 50 per cent that we should keep our nuclear deterrent at its present level of 4 Trident submarines provided the SDI is not implemented. Because if you are a country with a modest number of warheads the chance of them getting through a space defence shield is infinitely smaller than for a country with a bigger potential. Maybe we can move to a completely non-nuclear world. My own view is that if we are going to do it we should move next to battlefield weapons. In the Palme Commission I was the architect of the idea of a nuclear-free corridor in Europe between the Warsaw pact and NATO. I still believe that to be an important confidence-building measure.

Do you see a time when your country could begin to reduce its own nuclear arsenal?

Of course I think that there is a certain reduction we can make. Personally I wouldn't mind living with one Trident

submarine under some circumstances, if you were going to cut another 50 per cent of your arsenals right on top of the first. Rightly we are counting warheads. We should also proceed from the number of warheads needed for a minimum deterring potential. Another way to limit the arms race is to go for a comprehensive test ban of which I am a strong advocate.

Soviet-American talks begin in Washington shortly. On his way to the United States the Soviet leader will stop over in Britain. If you were Prime Minister what would you have suggested in the field of Soviet-British relations?

I would seek close realistic relations with you and I would talk on everything. I'd encourage a lot more trade. Our trade is not really enough. So our trade needs more substance - money. We should tie ourselves through trade. In terms of defence I think we should have realistic relations. The processes taking place in the Soviet Union are conducive to establishing a certain level of trust. I'm now reading Mr Gorbachev's book. He is a very interesting man. But the West has no illusions that he's a liberal in our sense of the word. As far as I can judge from what I've read he's a Leninist. But there is logic in the way he's moving. He can be successful and retain his Communist beliefs. Western democracies aren't perfect. We can live together and tolerate our differences and continue a mutually advantageous dialogue.

insignificant results can be expected.

In the spotlight

If expectations have become more realistic, interest in the summit has grown greatly. More than 80 per cent of Muscovites are looking forward to it eagerly. Only 3 per cent said that they are not very interested in the Washington meeting.

63 per cent of those polled said that in recent years international problems have interested them more, especially Soviet-U.S. relations (and 43 per cent expressed dissatisfaction to some extent or another with news provided by the Soviet media on international life).

Three quarters of all Muscovites

are not satisfied with the present state of Soviet-U.S. relations. It's true that 37 per cent believe that on the whole these relations have improved in recent years. One in four said that relations have stabilized.

Another question put was: "Do you believe that the U.S. administration is genuinely interested in starting the disarmament process?" About 50 per cent of those polled answered in the negative and only one in ten, in the affirmative. Three out of four felt that the U.S. military-industrial complex would succeed in hindering disarmament.

What they'd like to see on the agenda

The most important thing in the view of Muscovites is renouncing the "star wars"

programme. In October 94 per cent of the inhabitants of the Soviet capital said they would like to see neither the U.S.S.R. nor the U.S. deploying weapons in space.

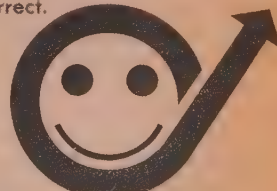
The November poll showed that the problem of limiting strategic offensive weapons comes second. Many people regarded a signing of an INF treaty as equally important. The public remains just as anxious as it was about the continuation of nuclear tests.

We repeated our question about the comparative military strength of the U.S.S.R. and U.S. Seven out of ten Muscovites believe their military might should be equal. One in five wanted superiority for the Soviet Union.

What else do Muscovites want the Soviet delegation to

achieve at the Washington summit? Eliminate tension and conflicts in the hot spots of the world, and expand trade and economic ties, scientific and cultural cooperation, and contacts between people. And at the bottom of the list was a reduction in conventional armaments and human rights in the two countries.

Let us hope that the 13 per cent of Muscovites who believe that major results can be expected from the summit prove correct.



МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫМ
БАРОМЕТР
МИРА

Breakthrough into tomorrow

American scientists in the "Beyond War" movement and their Soviet colleagues of the Committee of Soviet Scientists for Peace against the Nuclear Threat started this book in October 1985. Later, West Europeans joined them. The authors of this unusual book strove to shed the fetters of old dogmas, and break through the wall of prejudice and misconceptions, illusions and stereotypes. The breakthrough did take place. And that is exactly what they called their book - "Breakthrough."

Some of their pronouncements are quoted below.

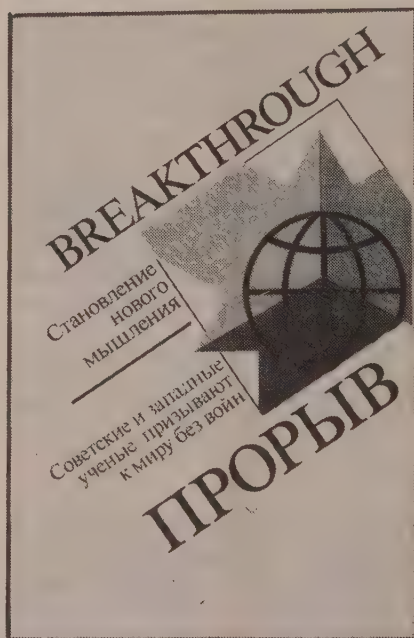
Science transforms the world

SERGEI P. KAPITSA, professor of physics, Institute for Physical Problems, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences; **MARTIN E. HELLMAN**, professor of electrical engineering, Stanford University, California:

Today, the very progress of science and technology has opened up the world in a remarkable way. Modern transportation has brought unprecedented mobility to people and goods... and bombs. Communication technology has produced the "global village" and much noise. Space technology has opened up the world to an extent unimagined before. The whole concept of national privacy as part of national sovereignty has gone. The sacred cow of military secrecy cannot conceal itself from the "eye in the sky." It is only a slight exaggeration that a reconnaissance satellite can count the number of stars on a general's epaulets.

Unfortunately, our social behaviour, our mentality both on an institutional and personal levels, seriously lags behind in its ability to face this new technology, this new world, this new openness. The U.S.

"Breakthrough: Emerging new thinking. Soviet and Western scholars issue a challenge to build a world beyond war." Editors: Anatoly Gromyko, Martin Hellman et al. Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1988.



jealously guards its integrated circuits from the U.S.S.R. as if their possession or non-possession would determine the winner in a war no one can win. The U.S.S.R. forbids the taking of pictures from airplanes and tall buildings as if they might affect a military outcome. Rather than adding to either nation's security, these manifestations of old thinking fuel the other side's fears that the first is preparing for war.

We often spend more effort to control information than spread it, to entertain rather than educate, to distort information to fit our worldview rather than vice versa. In spite of these human failings, information does flow increasingly freely. The latest, most dramatic, and most hopeful changes have been the Soviet Union's

move, under its new policy of glasnost (openness), to a freer flow of information.

...War is the challenge to the modern mind as the collapse of slavery and serfdom were the challenges for Americans and Russians a century ago. Today, the failure of war calls us to change our view of the world even more profoundly than the discovery that the earth is round five centuries ago. War is the issue for this generation.

Computers no more foolproof than the people who constructed them

MARIANNE FRANKENHAEUSER, professor, head of psychology division, Karolinska Institutet, Stockholm:

Human errors are often blamed on so-called accident-prone individuals, but there is no one special category of people who commit errors. It happens to all of us, including the well-trained, the highly skilled, and the so-called stress-tolerant people. All of us from time to time make mistakes, such as flashing the wrong signal, taking the wrong turn, or pushing the wrong button. Human beings are inherently non-foolproof: to err is human..

The risk of committing errors increases under emotional stress and people involved in complex defence systems are commonly exposed to emotionally arousing conditions characterized by high time pressure. Think of people faced with incidents such as nuclear false alarms, accidental nuclear explosions, or unintentional firing of missiles. Judgement and decision-making ability could be greatly impaired under such conditions.

In incidents of this kind, technical and human failures tend to interact. However, threats are generally discussed in purely technical terms, with the implication that improved technology would more or less abolish the risk. This is an illusion.

Fallibility, lack of perfection, is the key characteristic of human behaviour and is built into each system that we create. Computers make mistakes. They are no more foolproof than the people who constructed them. And most importantly, computers cannot cope with the unpredictable, the unexpected. Computers cannot be programmed for events that cannot be foreseen. When something unforeseeable happens, it takes human initiative to put things right.



Soviet, U.S. and West European scholars who wrote this book.

Group dynamics

EINAR KRINGLEN, professor and head of the department of psychiatry, University of Oslo, former fellow at Stanford University's centre for advanced study in the behavioral sciences [U.S.A.):

The danger is enhanced by certain group dynamics. In crisis situations, lower-level groups tend to report information that they believe high-level groups want to hear. Under strong pressure, groups tend to react with increasing conformity. They become more open to suggestion, allowing a domineering leader to be the deciding force. A group's perception of reality is often distorted by a misreading of relevant data. Sometimes information is even screened and tailored to fit the group's preconception of reality. Pressure to reach internal agreement, to be a member of the team, pushes individuals to join the majority view.

A statement by former U.S. Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara illustrates the critical importance of human frailty and the time needed for decision making.

Said he: "Are you so certain we'll never again, in the whole history of the human race, have another conflict? I'm not... Read history... Look at Berlin in 1961 or Cuba in 1962, or the events since that time. We damn near had war in 1967. I'll never forget, I went to the Pentagon, as I always did at seven in the morning, and at seven-fifteen the duty officer called. He said, 'Mr Secretary, Kosygin wants to talk to the president. What should I say?' And I said, 'Why the hell did you call me?' And he said, 'Well, the hotline ends in the Pentagon.' Now, I'd been secretary seven years and... I didn't even know it ended in

the Pentagon. That was the first time the hotline had ever been used, except for exercises. And he said (as you know, it is not a telephone, it's a teletype), 'The teletype station, or the end of the hotline is in the Pentagon.' Damned if I knew it. But I said, 'Look, we're spending 80 billion dollars a year for defence. You better take a few of those damn dollars and get that hotline patched over to the White House immediately. And I'll call the President and tell him Kosygin wants to talk.'

"So I called him, and I knew Johnson never was up at seven o'clock in the morning... Johnson came on the line and, you know, he's groggy and sleepy, and he says, 'God damn it, Bob, why'd you call me at this time?' I said, 'Mr President, Kosygin wants to talk to you.' 'What the hell do you mean?' 'Well,' I said, 'he's on the hotline; the hotline ends in the Pentagon.' 'Well, what do you think I ought to say?' 'Why don't we say you'll be down in twenty minutes? In the meantime I'll get Dean Rusk and we'll meet you down there in the Situation Room.'

"So we got over there and it was one of those dreary, tough messages. I don't know whether it's ever been declassified but the essence of it was: 'If you want war, you'll have war.' You know, Nasser was saying our aircraft were bombing (which they absolutely were not) the Jordanian forces. We had turned a carrier around in the world to go from west to east. It had been going west, we turned it around to go east towards Israel, and that's what led to this thing.

"But the point of the story is simply that: Are any of you prepared to say that we won't bungle into conflict? I'm not. I don't know when it's going to occur, how it's going to occur, but the risk of deterrence failing, the risk of bungling into a confrontation that nobody intended, and nobody wants, and nobody planned, is very high."

Estimation of capabilities or estimation of intentions?

ANDREI V. KORTUNOV, senior researcher, Institute of U.S.A. and Canada Studies, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences:

Traditionally, political figures have based their course of action on a "worst case" scenario, considering this approach to be the most probable situation that could occur. But is this really the way life is? If our relations with other people are to be based solely on assessing the magnitude of harm they "in principle" can inflict upon us, then life becomes totally unbearable. Every passerby then becomes a potential robber, rapist, or murderer. The strategy of "deterrence," which is presently so heavily favoured by "political realists," becomes absurd when we try to apply it to everyday life. But why is this faulty logic still applied to the relations between the West and the East? Maybe it's high time to switch from relying on worst case scenarios and hypothetical estimates of "the potential enemy" to the most probable case and to uncovering the real intentions for each side.

Expanding the scope of confidence

ANDREI Y. MELVILLE, Ph. D. section head, Institute of U.S.A. and Canada Studies, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences:

The determining factor of the shift in the relationship between military forces and politics is the total vulnerability created by the nuclear revolution - the inability to defend oneself against the threat of nuclear destruction by the use of any technical or military device. This is why the concept of national security is so dramatically changed.

...It is important to understand that we cannot elude this dead end with the help of technology.... Only by a radical change in the political and psychological climate in Soviet-American relations can we promote arms control and diminish our common nuclear danger.

That is why relaxing tension in the world, eliminating hostility, and developing confidence between countries and peoples are tasks that are comparable in significance with the task of disarmament. These are the most important elements in developing new political thinking in Soviet-American relations.

Yesterday, today, tomorrow

BORIS KOZLOV

Some 20 years ago I, as a journalist, had occasion to meet in Prague with Zbigniew Brzezinski, who was at the time giving lectures at Charles University. Once, at a gathering of sociologists and economists, Prof. Ota Sik initiated a conversation about the miscalculations that had been made in the Czechoslovak economy, and the situation in the country where, he said, the drawbacks of socialist planning were clearly apparent and where for that reason an atmosphere conducive to a free market was badly needed.

Brzezinski commented on Prof. Sik's remarks by advising him to wait for a year or so and see what happened then. The comment of a future assistant to the U.S. President proved prophetic (I am not going to judge to what degree it was fortuitous). In a few months, Czechoslovakia saw a political crisis engendered by the mistakes of the Communist Party leadership, and its inability to respond in good time to the new processes developing in the country's public life.

A critical review of the events was made at the party's Central Committee meeting in December 1970. Much water has flown under the bridge since then. The implementation of the Leninist programme of building socialism has enabled Czechoslovakia to achieve results of which it is justly proud. The social position of the working people has improved substantially. Their confidence in the superiority of the socialist over the capitalist way of life has increased.

Radical changes have occurred in the lives of those who were present at the above-mentioned gathering. Brzezinski's star has set, while Sik has apparently been forgotten even in the United States, where he subsequently settled. However, the desire to revise one or other page in history is still manifest. It is claimed that the evaluation of the crisis given by the Czechoslovak Communists needs revision.

Let us turn to the events of those years.

Some people ask: did not the leaders of the "Prague spring" of 1968 want to carry out the reforms now being implemented in other socialist countries? For they were

already speaking then of socialism with a "human," "open" and "honest" face.

The 1968 crisis in Czechoslovakia originated from the sincere desire of the people to solve the problems that had accumulated over the years. The working people believed that the party had taken the correct path. But, through the fault of right-wing opportunists, it was unable to mobilize the public for the solution of serious, long-maturing problems, as had been urged by the January 1968 meeting of its Central Committee. Moreover, it had lost control of the situation. As a result, the impending crisis was exacerbated.

Even a general review of the "democratic socialism" preached by Czechoslovak rightists in the 1960s shows that this model was directed against the leading role of the Communist Party in society. In fact, it was directed against the main functions of the socialist state, against the historic role of the working class, against the internal unity of society and, in the foreign policy sphere, this model was intent on severing the country's socialist ties.

The rightists tried to prove the need for "socialist pluralism" and completely denied the Communist Party a role in political life. They tried to refute the socialist reality and simultaneously idealized bourgeois democracy, depicting it as all but a stage on the road to "democratic socialism," which could be achieved by the complete development of capitalism.

That false interpretation of the prospect of development gave rise to calls for measures that would transform socialism into a system based on the petty-bourgeois social model.

This line had no chance of success in a situation firmly controlled by the Communist Party. But after the right-wing opportunists had openly attacked the basic principles of socialism, and the party and government bodies had ceased to put up organized resistance to their corrupting activity, the reactionary forces began a decisive offensive.

Only negative features were increasingly loudly and insistently emphasized

in assessing the past period in the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia, and since the Communist Party failed to advance a clear counter-programme, defeatist sentiments began to grow in society and the destruction of socialism as a social system was initiated.

These facts cannot be denied.

Moreover, in the 1950s the linking of theory with practice was often reduced in Czechoslovakia to a mechanical substantiation of one or other political measure. In the early 1960s, another extreme prevailed - theory was counterposed to practice, some notions were elevated into a dogma, and everything done since February 1948 was criticized. Experience was not studied, and there was no search for new ways of development. Instead, society was offered "new ideas," usually borrowed from the bourgeois arsenal.

These ideas attracted many people by their negativist character, and their abstract criticism of social mechanisms, and fell on the fertile soil of discontent. The practical experience of the party was depreciated, and there was increasing susceptibility to various managerial theories that were supposed to do away with the imaginary subjectivism of political decisions. The class approach to the analysis of reality was excluded.

These are also obvious facts.

Under the pretext of searching for new paths of development for socialist society, a gradual departure from Leninism took place and the ideas and even the language of the time of Masaryk (who had defamed Bolshevism) were revived until, finally, Leninism was rejected as a "Russian phenomenon," and therefore unfit for European conditions.

The intellectual elite was counterposed to the masses. There arose groups which offered "new models of socialism" and tried to impose them on the general public. But whatever theoretical attire these groups used, they acted cynically in practical policy, flouting all normal concepts of democracy and decency. The aim of these "brains trusts" - to seize the political initiative and place themselves at

Dialogue of friends

DIALOGUE BETWEEN FRIENDS IS AN APPROPRIATE EXPRESSION TO CHARACTERIZE THE RESULTS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS THAT ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT KENNETH KAUNDA, WHO IS ALSO LEADER OF THE UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY, HELD WITH MIKHAIL GORBACHEV AND ANDREI GROMYKO.

I talked with President Kaunda in Leningrad, where he arrived after his talks in Moscow. He seemed to have been deeply impressed by his visits to the memorial to the defenders of the city, and to Piskaryovo Cemetery.

It was difficult to hold back tears while listening to the guide's account of the tragedy

and feat of Leningrad, Kenneth Kaunda said. The history of nazism shows that man can be turned into an animal. But, here, in this heroic and beautiful city, you once again come to think that man, as an intelligent being, must do everything in his power to prevent this.

On the eve of the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, president Kaunda continued, we told the Soviet leader that he was not alone in his noble desire to rid the world of nuclear weapons. We Zambians join our voice with that of Gorbachev and all Soviet people for the sake of general and complete disarmament and universal security.

Such a variety of fascism as apartheid has appeared and still exists in our region, President Kaunda went on. The history of your country shows us how to fight fascism. It helps us to build a new life without outside interference. The Great October Socialist Revolution was carried out 70 years ago, and our revolution only 23 years ago, Kenneth Kaunda went on. Therefore we intend to learn from you, as our senior partners and brothers. During the talk with Mikhail Gorbachev we summed up the results of our economic cooperation and exchanged views on prospects

that inspire optimism, President Kaunda said.

This correspondent had an opportunity to see for himself the diversity of the economic cooperation between the two countries. For instance, for more than ten years our country has been sending engineers to Zambia to service the diesel power stations built there with Soviet technical assistance. This is a fundamental question for Zambia, as the total capacity of these stations runs to 29.8 million kilowatt-hours, or about a third of the capacity of all the power stations in the country.

It is planned to deliver earth-moving machines to Zambia and send specialists to maintain them. The Soviet Union is rendering Zambia technical assistance in the sphere of geology, including prospecting for hard minerals and the drawing up of a metallogenic map of the country. Assistance will be given in the establishment of a state farm on an area of up to 2,000 hectares.

The Soviet Union has sold Zambia the first batch of Lada cars, and aircraft and car spare parts to the value of four million rubles. Soviet-made Niva combine harvesters and other agricultural machines will also be supplied to the country.

In their turn, Zambian foreign trade firms will deliver a large batch of perfumery and wooden plane for furniture to the Soviet Union.

Our cooperation is not confined to trade and the economic sphere. Soviet teachers, doctors and other specialists are working at Zambia University.

Zambian television has for the first time acquired 20 Soviet films, including "Moscow Doesn't Believe in Tears," "The Autumn Marathon," "The Dead Season" and "The Crew." This was a noticeable event in the cultural life of the country.

At the talks between Kenneth Kaunda and the Soviet leaders much attention was given to the situation in southern Africa, which continues to be a seat of international tension. The main reason for the tenacity of the apartheid regime, it was noted at the talks, is the support given it by Western monopolies.

Both sides saw eye to eye on many problems, whether they concerned the settlement of the Afghan question or the situation in the Middle East, Soviet-Chinese relations or the Kampuchean question. It was a fruitful dialogue between friends.

NIKOLAI RESHETNYAK
Lusaka - Moscow - Leningrad

the head of society - served as a justification for their actions and methods.

Radicalism is not only an "infantile disease" of Communists, it is also a permanent disease of intellectuals, and a widespread and grave at that. It is of course regrettable when, through the fault of certain individuals, the Communist Party is sometimes abandoned even by its talented members. One cannot but see, however, that the reason for their desertion is usually personal intellectual arrogance and complete indifference to the interests of the working people.

The "democratic socialism" preached in Czechoslovakia was a product of those ambitious intellectuals who had drawn away from the working class and the Communist Party. Their models of socialism were merely speculative ideas, equally distant both from the material potential of society and class relations as a whole. Attempts to pursue such a course were bound to lead to new myths about socialist reality, and finally led to the rejection of socialism and to anarchy.

Today these actions by right-wing elements are presented as all but a reaction to dogmatism. No, they were rather a reaction to the Marxist-Leninist solution of the new problems engendered by the development of the socialist world system. Right-wing opportunism, which became rife in Czechoslovakia in the late 1960s, did not strive to develop Marxism as a world outlook capable of overcoming the problems posed by life. It sought to create a basis for counterrevolution.

The costly experience drawn from the Czechoslovak crisis by the party's Central Committee at its meeting in December 1970 provides material for more than mere theoretical discussion. Today, too, revisionism unscrupulously exploits urgent issues that arise in the course of the development of society, modern science and technology, and the revolutionary practice of the socialist countries. It is a sterile flower on the living tree of knowledge.

Two decades have passed since that time, an ordeal for Czechoslovak society.

Has it become necessary over this period to reappraise the Communists' views of the essence of those events? No.

The Czechoslovak Communists did not act against their conscience when drawing lessons from the crisis in their country. These lessons are still relevant today, too, though no one can claim that conclusions reached in those years are not subject to amendment.... One can discern a common thread in events separated by time, in, say, the economic and political spheres, and also in views. But it is dangerous to conclude that processes separated by the real conditions in which they proceeded or are identical. Even more dangerous are the tempting historical parallels which some find convenient to use to justify their mistakes in the past and the present.

As for the lessons of the Czechoslovak crisis, the fundamental conclusions drawn from them by the Communists are as indisputable today, as they were 20 years ago. Time has confirmed their validity.

The reform put to the vote

From our special correspondent
VLADIMIR KULISTIKOV

It was the second referendum in the country's history. The first was conducted in 1946. At that time the Poles declared for the inviolability of their republic's postwar borders. By inviting suggestions from Poland's citizens as to the rates and methods of socio-economic and political reforms, the current Polish leadership stressed the importance of changing over to the second stage of the reform started some years ago.

The nation discussed how the reform was to be carried out - quickly, at one go, or piecemeal. On November 29, each of Poland's 26.8 million citizens with the right to vote was asked two questions: do you want full implementation of the programme submitted to the Sejm for a radical shakeup of the economy and a substantial improvement in living standards, even if this takes two or three years of vigorous action? Or would you prefer the Polish model of the thorough democratization of political life aimed at promoting self-government, expanding civil rights and enlisting citizens in running the country on an ever larger scale?

Poll results

In the run-up to the referendum, anti-socialist forces tried to capitalize on some people's pessimism. Certain leaders of the former Solidarity organization called for a boycott of the referendum on the "grounds" that the authorities wanted to make the nation an accomplice in a policy leading to economic disaster.

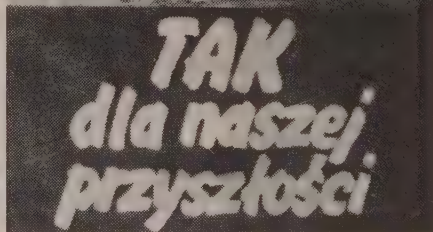
Referendum returns failed to corroborate the expectations of those who had predicted that people would not go to the polls. A 68 per cent turnout is a genuine *vox populi* and a convincing indication of popular confidence in the socialist political system. Sixty-six per cent of this turnout said "yes" to the first question, and 69 per cent - to the second question. According to law, however, the programme of accelerated reforms must win 51 per cent of the total national vote to be accepted, and the actual majority vote proved insufficient. Only 44 and 46 per cent of Poland's voters answered the first and second questions in the affirmative, respectively.

I asked Eugeniusz Smilowski, deputy director of the Public Opinion Research Centre, to comment on the poll results.

Incidentally, the centre had predicted that more than 50 per cent of all voters would answer "yes" to both questions.

"The large number of negative answers is due primarily to the prospect of a new rise in prices. A preliminary opinion poll had revealed that this measure is particularly unpopular with unskilled workers, civil servants, schoolteachers - in a word, with those whose income is restricted to a fixed pay. Enthusiasm for accelerated reforms has been voiced by highly skilled workers, engineers, private operators, business owners and craftsmen. The idea

REFERENDUM



A referendum poster.

CAF - TASS photo

was approved, on the whole, by invalids and pensioners who believe that the government will make up for the losses caused by the price rise. What worries us most is the apathy of the young, and their reluctance to take an active part in political life. This attitude testifies to a certain degree of mistrust in the system. What should be borne in mind first and foremost in assessing the referendum results is that from the viewpoint of our political system getting people to take part in the referendum matters much more than finding out which way to carry out the reform they prefer.

In some parts of the country the idea of

accelerated reform drew the majority vote. That was the case in Warsaw. I asked Jacek Zdroewski, propaganda department chief of the Warsaw PUWP City Committee, to explain why.

"I think it was a result of active political preparatory work done in the run-up to the referendum by the Polish United Workers' Party, the Democratic Party, the United Peasants' Party and the Patriotic Movement for National Revival. We had many get-togethers with the ordinary people, factory workers included, explaining to them, in practical terms, what effect the reform would have on everyone's life. Despite the unfavourable socio-demographic situation in the city, most people here supported the idea of carrying out the reform fast."

It must be said that the result of the referendum could have been different. It had been expected that much fewer people would come to the polls. The scale was tipped by the openness with which all the problems involved in the coming reforms were discussed, by the fact that the leadership did not promise the people the moon but told them frankly that the country was facing a difficult choice. The media also played a crucial role. They helped Poland to hear its own voice. Journalists displayed a high degree of professionalism in bringing home to everyone the essence of the questions put to the popular vote, with the result that many awoke to their responsibility for the fate of the country.

The leadership did not press the nation for a "yes" to its programme. It was stressed in the discussion that the important thing for the Poles was not so much to support the given plan for the reform, as to make a free and conscious choice.

"No one had as yet invented a perpetuum mobile"

It was perhaps the first time that the democratic procedure (provided for by the Constitution) of submitting key issues to various sections of society for discussion was resorted to. At the Warsaw City Committee of the PUWP, at the Central Committee of the United Peasants' Party, and at the Central Committee of the Democratic Party I was told that every stage of preparations for the reform had been preceded by interparty consultations at the most varied levels. Coordinating different viewpoints took time. The Democratic Party, for instance (which had long insisted on making referenda regular political practice in the country) had its doubts as to whether it was right to word the questions in such a general way and suggested some procedural changes. Following consultations with other parties, all the misunderstandings were straightened out.

The leaders of the parties, trade unions and public organizations travelled extensively around the country addressing various audiences, advocating the idea of the reform and answering awkward questions. The most difficult question of all was put to Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee. At one of his get-togethers with young people, telecast live, he was asked: "How can you guarantee that the reform will be a success? After all, those charged with carrying it out have already attempted reforms before." This question by a young Pole gave voice to past disappointments. Too many promises had been given but never fulfilled.

Wojciech Jaruzelski replied that he could not vouch for the reform being a success. Reform was only a move. Nevertheless, every condition would be provided for implementing it. No one had as yet invented a perpetuum mobile. Every machine requires maintenance, the quality of which varies from man to man. Some handle a machine with care, others destroy it. We observed this, for instance, at the first stage of the reform. We came up against all sorts of obstacles, such as lack

of experience and a lot of red tape. Both at the top and at grassroots level there was opposition to unpopular, but economically necessary solutions, Jaruzelski stressed.

The evolution of the Catholic church's stance is indicative of the change of sentiment. At first, its leadership ostentatiously ignored discussions on the subject of the referendum, but a few days before polling day Jozef Glemp, Primate of Poland, said in an interview to the Spanish paper *Ja*: "A difficult reform is better than chaos." The interview was liberally quoted in the Polish press.

More socialism

Poland is entering into a period of radical change. It is to build up an effective economic system which will enable hard-working people to augment their incomes appreciably. The system is also supposed to saturate the market with high-quality products, slow down the rate of inflation, and eradicate social parasitism, profiteering and wastefulness. In order to attain these objectives, factories will be granted more extensive rights,

people will be encouraged to display initiative, superfluous bureaucratic elements in the management system will be eliminated, and unprofitable enterprises closed down.

In the political sphere, the role of representative organizations will be enhanced, the scale of self-management expanded, and all forms of socialist pluralism promoted and enriched. Some in the West are trying to pass these measures off as concessions to capitalism. This far-fetched view was refuted by the Sixth plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee, the first part of which had come to a close shortly before the referendum. The meeting made it clear that the purpose of the reforms was to have more, rather than less, socialism.

The results of the referendum will be discussed by the Sejm, which will also pass the final decision on ways of carrying out the reform and on the rate of its implementation.

The Polish people are to prove that they are not only free to speak up and to make decisions, but also capable of putting their decisions into practice.

Warsaw

KAMPUCHEA — VIETNAM

Pullout continues

A NEW STAGE HAS BEGUN IN THE WITHDRAWAL OF VIETNAMESE VOLUNTEERS FROM THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA.

It was a long time since Pnompenh had seen so many guests from different countries. At the end of November the Monorom, Sar, Samaki and other hotels were filled to capacity. Nearly a hundred journalists from all continents, and over twenty observers representing governments and international organizations, had come to witness the withdrawal of the next group of Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchean territory. The leading newspapers, magazines, agencies and radio and television networks in the U.S., Britain, France, Italy, Canada, Sweden, Switzerland, Australia, Japan and Thailand sent special correspondents to Pnompenh, and there were also several dozen journalists from the socialist countries.

The present withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops who came to the help of the people

of Kampuchea in its hour of difficulty is the sixth to date. In line with an agreement between Pnompenh and Hanoi, a significant proportion of the Vietnamese volunteers have already left for home. This was possible thanks to the consolidation of people's government, the growth of the military potential of Kampuchea's armed forces, and the sincere desire of the fraternal countries of Indo-China to facilitate the earliest possible solution to the Kampuchean problem. In the programme for national reconciliation promulgated by the Kampuchean government at the end of last August, it was again stressed that the complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers would be effected by 1990. The pull-out could be completed even earlier - as soon as the external threat to the republic has been removed.

Early in the morning, several helicopters and planes displaying the Kampuchean national flag took off from Pochentong Airport. We flew over ground drenched by torrential rain. The paddy fields gleamed below. Beneath us were hills covered with stunted trees, and villages, many of which were still scarred by the war. Everywhere there were roofless houses, ruined domestic structures, and mine craters.

Our destination was Battambang, the second largest town in Kampuchea, and the centre of the country's rice-producing region. The recent past was a tragic chapter in the region's history. IN 1975 Pol Pot and his gang herded tens of thousands of Kampucheans from Pnompenh and other towns into the area. The majority of them perished at the hands of butchers or from exhausting labour in "agricultural communes." In the last few years the region has reawakened to new life.

The helicopter landed near the air terminal in Battambang. The town centre is a ten minute drive. The whole town, children and adults alike, seemed to have come to see off the Vietnamese volunteers who had assembled in Battambang prior to their return home. Thousands of hands waved red flags with the star of Vietnam on one side and the five towers of Angkor on the other. The farewell march through Battambang lasted almost an hour and a half. Lorries full of young Vietnamese lads, delapidated buses brought from Ho Chi Minh and other cities in South Vietnam, howitzers and anti-aircraft guns rolled slowly by. On top of the buses and cars was simple soldiers' gear - rucksacks, tents, straw matting, canisters of drinking water and bundles of tinder.

And again our helicopter rose into the air. Before the pilot set his course for Pnompenh, we circled over the procession of cars stretching for several kilometres below. This withdrawal was the biggest to date. Roughly 20,000 Vietnamese internationalists are to return home from Battambang and other areas of Kampuchea by the end of the year.

This figure was quoted by the Kampuchean Minister for External Affairs, Kong Korm, at a press conference in Pnompenh. In all, he stressed, counting 20,000, the number of Vietnamese troops to leave Kampuchea will come to half the number of volunteers who came here in 1979.

And so, one more step has been taken towards a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. The next step could be the meeting of Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Kampuchea Hun Sen with Prince Norodom Sihanouk in France. As announced in the course of the last few days in Pnompenh, it has been scheduled for December 2.

ALBERT PIN our special correspondent
and **ALEXANDER SMELYAKOV**, TASS correspondent

Pnompenh - Battambang - Kompong Som

NO STATUTE OF LIMITATION

Justice must be done

The West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has been sent a letter by the residents of Mironovka, a district centre in Kiev Region, U.S.S.R. They demand the extradition to the Soviet Union of the war criminal Ignat Sinyavsky, who now lives in Munich.

The list of atrocities perpetrated by the nazis in the Ukraine is long. In Babii Yar they and their henchmen slaughtered 100,000 people. In Lvov they murdered 160,000 Ukrainians and Jews. They also shed blood in Solotopka, a ravine near Mironovka. In March 1943 Sinyavsky took part in the execution of 80 people there.

Vladimir Pavlovsky, an assistant district prosecutor, told me:

"In 1941 Sinyavsky volunteered to serve as police commandant in the village of Alexandrovka. Soon he was promoted and appointed police commandant of Mironovka District. He took part in the executions and tortures of Soviet people. Moreover, he organized mass executions. When the nazis retreated, Sinyavsky fled to the West and found patrons in the F.R.G."

Sinyavsky probably thought his past had been forgotten, and his bloody trail lost in the turmoil of postwar events. But the archives of the Third Reich have not been destroyed and witnesses are still alive.

On Sinyavsky's orders, Sergei Dryga and several other teenagers had to dig a grave at the site of a mass execution.

"As we were burying the corpses, suddenly one of them showed signs of life," Sergei Dryga recalls. "I recognized the man, he was Vasily Zapra from our village. Sinyavsky pulled out his pistol and finished him off."

Iosip Yarosh, a former nazi collaborator in Ivano-Frankovsk Region, lives, like Sinyavsky, in the F.R.G. In June 1943, together with Gestapo officers, he took part in the execution of 100 people near the village of Broshnev-Osad in Rozhnyatov District. He ordered his victims to strip and lie down on stacks of wood. Bursts of submachine-gun fire followed. The next group of doomed people covered the corpses with logs and lay on top. After the execution the wood and the corpses were doused with petrol and set on fire.

It was only in December 1983 that Yarosh faced a West German court. The judges made a special point of determining the colour of his service jacket and the type of headgear he preferred. As for the crux of the matter, they established

only the fact that he had murdered a Soviet woman, Tanne, when she tried to escape from her guards. The court decided that Yarosh had not taken part in mass executions, that he had only "helped herd Jews" and generally only fulfilled the orders of the Nazi command. He was sentenced to 5 years and 6 months in prison.

Of the 100,000 former nazis living in the F.R.G., only slightly more than 6,000 were punished. A court acquitted former SS-men Westerheide and Zelle, although there exist documents proving their participation in the murder of more than 9,000 people in the Ukraine. Living in freedom to this day is the former police chief of Lvov, Major Ritulai, who is responsible for the death of 2,000 civilians in concentration camps.

Perhaps a banal subject for thought: why is it that civilized societies (for thousands of former nazis are now living in the United States, Britain and Canada), which are proud of their democracy, are protecting enemies of democracy? The paradox is that there is no serious answer to this. A resolution of the United Nations Human Rights Commission says that not one war criminal should escape trial, regardless of where he lives and when he is apprehended. Nor are we vindictive. Crimes against humanity must be punished to prevent their repetition. But to this day the ideology of cold-war times often prevails: let the "have-beens" live in peace; after all, their services might be useful one day.

It is painful to rid oneself of the past, and the stereotypes of confrontation are tenacious. But it is necessary to overcome them. Yet the extradition to the French of the Butcher of Lyons Klaus Barbie and to the Soviet authorities of the Hangman of Tartu Karl Linas, as well as the trial of Ivan Demyanyuk in Israel, are symptomatic.

The people of Mironovka, a district centre in Kiev Region, are patiently waiting for a response from the Federal Chancellor. But so far they have received nothing from Bonn.

ALEXANDER FURMAN

Kiev

TAKING UP A POINT



Journalist
VALERY BEGISHEV
replies:

It would seem since few things have caused us so much anguish as the quality of our output, that any measure directed at its improvement should only be welcomed. But the decades during which managerial bureaucracy grew and consolidated have generated in people a last-minute mistrust in new organizational structures. And although the need for and usefulness of state quality control of industrial output have been explained at all levels, our message bag still contains angry letters such as the one above.

But I do believe that the question merits discussion. The interests of many millions of workers and consumers are affected. From the new year, another 727 enterprises will begin to submit their outputs independent and exacting control. State quality control inspectors will check all passenger cars and trucks, all buses, tractors and sophisticated household appliances, 94 per cent of metal-cutting lathes, and almost three quarters of computers.

It is undeniable that the introduction of state quality control is an administrative measure, an act of arbitrariness, if you like. And such actions almost inevitably involve an increase in the number of "overseers". But on the other hand, the existing situation is simply intolerable. For years we have insisted that our goods must be of good quality, proclaimed ambitious slogans, and developed and introduced diverse programmes and systems designed to prevent shoddy workmanship.

I will not say that this did not produ

The system of state quality control is being increasingly introduced in the country. Don't you think this requires a superfluous and rather extensive staff that will duplicate already existing quality control departments at enterprises? After all, we have more than enough spongers as it is.

V. IVANENKO
Severouralsk, U.S.S.R.

positive results at all. Individual enterprises, for instance, the Baku plant produces air conditioners or the Novosibirsk machine-building plant manufacturing the popular "Biryusa" household refrigerators, can be proud of their results. But on the whole.... Integrated

the way needed by society, a system stopping or seriously hurting those who work worse than is required, a system automatically raising the best workers to the highest level of material well-being and social recognition. Alas, such a system does not yet exist; the groundwork for it is

Not a cure-all but a medicine

Systems of quality control were introduced in 1979 at enterprises in Moscow. But 60-70 per cent of the annual checks of these enterprises showed that, despite the introduction of these modern systems, they failed to manufacture goods that conformed to meet standards and specifications. I understand Mikhail Gorbachev's irony when, at a conference at the Central Committee in November of 1980 devoted to the introduction of quality control, he said that if many of the manufacturers were left face-to-face with the world market they would instantly go bankrupt.

One of the main reasons for this is that we have a habit inherited from the tsarist time when it was necessary, we worshiped only one god - volume. To produce more, and still more, to overfulfill, and some more - and we have a plan for it is simply impossible to fulfil if one does not conscientiously. But the plan is the situation of our industry, its fundamental weakness, even if it has been undermined in recent years by numerous adjustments.

Of course there can be (and do exist) specially gifted, principled managers who manage to cope with everything. But there are exceptions, and just as it is impossible to provide every secondary school with teachers of the calibre of Shatalov and Shatalov, it is equally impossible to find directors like Kabaidze or Gupalov for every plant. What is needed is a system enabling an ordinary worker, an ordinary collective to work in

only being created. On the other hand, we could no longer just sigh as we watched the torrent of quantity undermine quality. A dam had to be built in the way of this torrent. And this is how the system of state quality control came into being.

Undeniably, it was a bold, difficult and tough decision. Many reputations were shattered even in the earliest days. Take, for instance, the case of the Krasny Proletarii plant in Moscow, a famous plant that had been praised for many years. But when the state quality controllers came, this plant could not make them accept a single machine tool at first presentation during the first ten days.

The management had to take urgent measures: they put their technical documentation into order, looked for additional areas in which to install testing stands, and rechecked all their measuring instruments and gauges. And things began to improve, though not at once.

State quality control has several purposes. One of its tasks is to create a barrier for substandard products made in violation of standards which, as everyone is aware, have the force of law. During the first nine months of this year, state quality control inspectors ordered enterprises to remove faults in products worth 9 billion rubles. Forty-two million rubles were not paid to those whose products were so flawed that nothing could be done about them. Little? But the entire increment of industrial output during this period amounted to 22 billion rubles.

Another function is to help enterprises solve their technological problems. The state controllers are under orders not just to identify faults but to determine the causes of poor workmanship and recommend ways of improving the situation. The state quality control inspectors also have the right to take action against those who supply substandard raw materials and components.

The letter's author says that the introduction of state quality control creates the possibility of duplication. No such danger exists, given proper organization. The plant quality control departments check quality in the process of production, while the independent state quality inspectors check finished products. It is another matter that in some cases local controllers try to make the state quality control inspectors do their job for them. But the price for this is the return of products for additional working. With the introduction of full cost-accounting such things will cost enterprises dear and such practices will disappear.

Quite naturally, the system of state quality control needs a staff, and a very competent one at that. But the number of inspectors is strictly limited. In fact it is far smaller than the number of employees of the plant quality control departments.

I believe there is yet another most valuable effect of state quality control: it brings to light many of the accumulated absurdities and simply disgraceful things to which we have grown accustomed. For example, the terrible shortage of measuring instruments or the use to this day of antiquated machines and equipment.

The new service also has long-term tasks - to raise the technical level of output after the observance of existing standards and technologies has become second nature to workers in industry.

All this, like the first results, give grounds for saying that state quality control is a long-term measure. Of course, it is not a cure-all. It compels people to observe existing requirements, but cannot change these requirements although in many instances these requirements have inbuilt faults (unjustified tolerances, backward production methods, etc.). Moreover, industry is beginning to find ways of bypassing state quality control inspectors or putting pressure on them. This, in my view, is the biggest danger. But we are still at the initial stage and this system will be perfected. And I have no doubts at all as to its usefulness.

The moment of fear and revelation

GEORGY SHAKHNAZAROV,
president of the Soviet Association of Political Sciences

"Wise after the event," as the saying goes. The phrase is mainly used ironically and refers to people who see the light after the truth has become evident to all. It seems to me, however, that everyone would be well-advised to remember the wisdom contained in the saying.

The true meaning of historic events is not always revealed to all immediately after they have taken place. Sometimes decades and even centuries pass before all the consequences of such events become apparent. That's why 25 years afterwards, we should not be ashamed to draw some important conclusions from the Caribbean missile crisis. On the contrary, it would be unfortunate if 25 years later we were to find nothing new to say about this dramatic event, a turning point in postwar international development.

In October of this year I took part in a symposium convened by the J.F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, Cambridge, U.S.A., on the anniversary of the missile crisis. I listened with great interest to the speeches delivered at the gathering by former prominent members of the Kennedy administration, and gained a much better understanding of various episodes of the crisis. The speakers touched on what I think is the most crucial issue - the sources or causes of the crisis, with the installation of Soviet missiles in Cuba being the fundamental premise of all their reasoning.

It is, of course, ridiculous to deny that the deployment of Soviet missiles in Cuba can be regarded as the cause of the crisis. But each cause has its own cause, and if we want to get to the roots of the matter, it is

clearly necessary to evaluate the situation that existed before, or at least on the eve of, the crisis. In this case the following circumstances should be taken into account.

The sword of Damocles

Since the proclamation of the Truman doctrine, the policy of all U.S. administrations has been guided by the idea of "containing" or "rolling back" communism. In other words, it has been a policy of bringing nuclear pressure on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

I am not contending that the U.S. presidents have been possessed by the desire to drop nuclear bombs on the Soviet Union as soon as possible. However, plans for the destruction of hundreds of Soviet cities were devised and constantly updated, and since such plans (Dropshot and Offtackle) were nurtured, they could be put into effect when an opportunity offered. All that was no secret for the Soviet leadership. The U.S. nuclear threat was hanging over the Soviet Union like the sword of Damocles, compelling it to search for means of strengthening national security.

But it was not only a question of the Soviet Union's security. Shortly before the missile crisis, an armed invasion was undertaken in the Bay of Pigs by Cuban counterrevolutionaries, aided and abetted by the government of the United States. The ignominious failure of the venture was followed by a spate of threats against Cuba, and no responsible historian will dare deny that these threats could have

been followed by new acts of aggression, with, moreover, the direct participation of U.S. troops. In short, Cuba could have suffered the fate that befell Grenada more than two decades later.

True, former Defence Secretary Robert McNamara said that the Kennedy administration did not have such intentions. Let us suppose that this was so indeed. But practically all succeeding administrations certainly had such plans. Philipines against the unsubdued island and threats to punish it have issued intermittently from



The naval blockade of Cuba announced by Washington on October 22 precipitated a conflict.

Washington, and calls for an invasion have been made incessantly by hawks on Capitol Hill, to become an essential attribute of U.S. politics over the last few decades. The constant threat hanging over Cuba compelled its leaders to search for ways of ensuring national security.

In other words, the prime cause of the missile crisis was Washington's hostile policy towards the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries, a policy of destroying them sooner or later and, until this was possible (with economic and political methods of struggle probably taken into account) as well of keeping them in constant fear of the threat of a nuclear attack.

This is the concluding article on the 1962 missile crisis. For previous articles see issues 44 and 46.

"The arrogance of power"

Another principal cause of the missile crisis was the preponderance of nuclear weapons retained by the United States for many years. The "arrogance of power" engendered by this superiority led the political and military leaders in Washington to believe that the United States had a right to encircle the Soviet Union with its naval and air bases carrying nuclear weapons, whereas the Soviet Union was not allowed to deploy its nuclear weapons even in one place near the territory of the United States. One can easily discern here the tacit rule which has for millennia dominated relations between states: "Between two equal rights only force decides."

Of course, the United States was not very pleased to have nuclear missiles targeted on its territory near its borders. But the same applies to the Soviet Union. Had the U.S. politicians been guided by a common standard consonant with the spirit and principles of present-day international law, they would have had to accept the Soviet missiles in Cuba as an inevitable albeit unpleasant fact, and start negotiations with the Soviet Union to remove the nuclear threat on the basis of reciprocity.

It can thus be said with good reason that one of the principal causes of the missile crisis was the firm confidence of the U.S. leadership of its military superiority over the Soviet Union. As the crisis aggravated in October 1962, Washington reappraised its confidence and came to realize that the alignment of forces had changed and that in reply to the security guarantees provided by the other side the United States should also give equivalent guarantees.

This statement needs an explanation. Robert McNamara believes that at the time of the missile crisis military-strategic parity existed between the Soviet Union and the United States. This is true, if we have in

mind the ability of each side in those years either to destroy the other side completely or to deliver what is known as an unacceptable blow. Therefore, no political aim can justify the risk of provoking a similar blow.

What is in question is the ability to deal a crushing retaliatory blow. But this ability, I think, cannot be equated to parity. At the time of the missile crisis, the Soviet Union, possessing strategic nuclear forces, lagged substantially behind the United States in many parameters of military power - in the number of missiles, warheads, submarines and bombers carrying nuclear weapons, and so on, which was also noted by Robert McNamara.

The palpable superiority gave many U.S. experts grounds to believe that the Soviet Union could strike a heavy but not mortal blow at their country. It was estimated that a relatively small proportion of the population would perish. Deplorable as such losses might be, the United States would survive and would be able to deliver a retaliatory blow that would wipe out the Soviet Union.

According to documents published not long ago, ever since the missile crisis, until quite recently, the Pentagon has been working out and updating plans for a preemptive nuclear strike at the Soviet Union.

The right to parity

An even more convincing proof of the absence of full military-strategic parity by the time of the missile crisis is the general recognition of the fact that such parity had been achieved in the late 1970s - early 1980s. Today it is measured not only and not simply by the criterion of devastating retaliation, but also by approximate parity of military-strategic forces (with the obvious difference in their structures), the

number of their basic elements - missiles and warheads.

In other words, it took more than a decade after the missile crisis for parity to become a fact and for Washington to recognize it. This, in its turn, was the starting point for a reappraisal of the military-strategic situation as a whole and then for joint efforts with the Soviet Union to lower the level of parity. To put it more clearly, this laid conditions for first real steps on the way to nuclear disarmament.

Here is one further indirect proof of the fact that by the time of the Caribbean crisis parity did not exist or, at least, was incomplete. The point is that the concept of parity or equilibrium of forces includes not only a certain balance of means of destruction and delivery but also **the recognition of such a balance by both sides and the ensuing conclusion that a nuclear conflict must be averted.**

This subjective or even psychological aspect, seeming unimportant when compared with the fact of "material equilibrium," can play a fatal role. Unfortunately, this possibility is ignored by those who say that the Clausewitz formula whereby war is a continuation of policy by other means has become obsolete in the nuclear age.

From a rational point of view, a war fatally leading to total annihilation loses any sense whatever. But if even one political leader with his fingers on the buttons of nuclear war **thinks otherwise**, this means that war still remains a continuation of policy.

The Caribbean crisis was the first step in the realization by U.S. ruling circles of the fact that no political objectives can be achieved by nuclear war. This process has proved a long one. It has continued, with setbacks, till now. At the Geneva meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, President Reagan recognized this truth officially for the first time, and this was recorded in a joint statement.

But the U.S. administration adheres tenaciously to the SDI programme, which is virtually an attempt to regain the lost superiority, that is, in the end, to restore a situation where a nuclear strike could be dealt at the other side without (or possibly without) fear of a crushing retaliatory blow.

The lessons

In any case, there is good reason to believe that the Cuban missile crisis, which put the world on the brink of a nuclear conflict, proved a decisive factor in averting nuclear conflagration over the subsequent 25 years. The moment of fear and revelation experienced by mankind in October 1962 was like the fever after the introduction of immune vaccine, mobilizing the body's defences.

This first and main lesson of the Caribbean crisis should also be seen in



John Kennedy's "crisis staff" in session at the White House. Autumn, 1962.

From Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

a broader context. The crisis seems to have highlighted, as if by lightning, the most essential feature of international relations in the nuclear age - **that it is impossible to ensure the security of a country by impairing the security of others.** But, again, it took 25 years for this idea to be understood, developed into a theoretical concept, and made state policy.

The documents of the 27th congress of the Communist Party, the speeches delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev in the subsequent period, and the documents submitted by the Soviet Union for consideration by the United Nations have expressed the essence of the new political thinking: the growing interdependence of states and the resulting need to establish a comprehensive system of international peace and security that would enable humanity to bypass the minefield of our days and build a nuclear-free and non-violent world by the 21st century.

Besides the analysis of the causes and the very course of the missile crisis, it is also important to assess the actions of the political leaders who played key parts in it. Had Shakespeare or any other famous writer taken these events as the plot for a day, he would have had every reason to describe them as a conflict of characters and, together with us, do justice to those who, despite the polar differences in their ideologies, casts of mind, experience and many other qualities, were able to rise above these differences, cross the barrier of ideological intolerance, and realize the need for a compromise.

The political wisdom shown by the main characters in this drama - Nikita Khrushchev, John Kennedy and Fidel Castro - can be characterized as an example of new thinking in the nuclear age, though at the time nobody gave much thought to such lofty theoretical concepts and the fact that, perhaps for the first time in history, the fate of mankind had hinged on the decisions of the leaders of two most powerful countries with different socio-political systems.

There is one more lesson from the missile crisis, connected with the time factor. The paradox is that in the late 1980s it would be extremely dangerous to take the method of settling a conflict applied in October 1962 as a model. In other words, it is a sort of contra-lesson.

Indeed, the Cuban missile crisis lasted two weeks, or even more, according to a broad interpretation. During this period there were fits of anger on both sides, and the state of confusion gave way to desperate resolve. One can easily imagine the tragic finale if decisions had been taken at these moments. The reserve of time helped the leaders to "cool down," once more think over the possible consequences of their actions, consult not only their close associates but also many

experts, and exchange views with their allies.

When every minute

counts

Today there is no such reserve of time. Hours or even minutes will be left for the adoption of decisions, provided they are made by people, not computers. In other words, reliance on nuclear deterrence becomes illusory. This is one of the most convincing arguments in favour of the abolition of nuclear weapons.

But if the method of settling the missile crisis is not helpful because the crisis lasted for a considerable period of time, it is highly instructive from the standpoint of the political and diplomatic procedures used then. The analysis of all the details of the crisis leads to the following general conclusion: **the more stable and broader the constant contacts between the sides, the more chances exist of keeping any unexpected critical situation under control.**

It can be noted with satisfaction that a good deal has been done recently to make contacts between the U.S. and Soviet governments regular. In addition to contacts at summit and high political levels, consultations of experts on arms control are now practised. The interaction between the general public in different countries through space bridges, peace marches and other means is constantly increasing. The symposia and conferences of scholars specializing in international relations also play a useful role. Among them is the above-mentioned symposium held at Harvard University.

During the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, this author had a chance to tell Fidel Castro about the symposium. The Cuban leader stressed the importance of a profound analysis of the dramatic events of that time, and of the lessons which have lost none of their validity to this day.

The Soviet-American summit, at which an agreement eliminating two classes of nuclear missiles has to be signed, is opening in Washington shortly. Twenty-five years separate this historic act from the Caribbean crisis. Mankind has no right to waste so much time in the future. Wishing success for the Washington summit, millions of people the world over hope that the process of arms control and complete nuclear disarmament will develop much quicker in the years to come.

N.T.: I have frequently heard allegations to the effect that the restructuring in this country poses a danger to the West because it makes the U.S.S.R. a mightier and more viable country.

Domenico Rosati: I do not share these fears. The restructuring has a peaceful character and your country needs peace for its implementation; this is unequivocally stated in Mikhail Gorbachev's anniversary report and in his speech at the international meeting of the representatives of parties and movements. We Europeans more than anybody else should be interested in such a course gaining momentum in the Soviet Union.

What is the hallmark of the new Soviet policy? More open society, more democracy, an acceleration in the rate of economic development, a global approach to international problems, the realization of our interrelationship on this planet. I, as a Catholic Christian, deeply appreciate it. I recall that back in 1966 Pope Paul VI said: "peace is a synonym for development," having in mind development for the whole world. Sober-minded people, regardless of their political views, will only welcome every move in this direction.

N.T.: Senator, it is not for the first time that you have come to this country. What changes in the public and political atmosphere have you noticed of late?

D.R.: I have been visiting the U.S.S.R. quite regularly since 1971. Talking to the Soviet people I cannot but feel that perestroika is gaining ground, winning more and more people over to its side.

Nevertheless, some things look strange to an impartial observer. For instance, it is said that perestroika is coming up against resistance, which is described even as strong and fierce, but at the same time the people who object are never identified. I gather that the springs of this resistance are known and that now a decisive period for the future of perestroika is beginning. The phenomenon that strikes me most is the unanimity of applause. Does that mean that the opponents are applauding too? What for? We know for sure that there are people who oppose the reforms but everyone is doing the applauding.... What is it? Ordinary courtesy, habit or something more serious?

Now back to my impressions. I could say that conviction, a resolve to go ahead, a sense of responsibility and realism are all in evidence. I assess the report made by Mikhail Gorbachev at the jubilee meeting as well-balanced, conscious of the historic achievements of socialism, free of gaps and attempts to rewrite history or obliterate the names and the facts.

The realization of the difficulties, and awareness that what is involved is not

DOMENICO ROSATI:

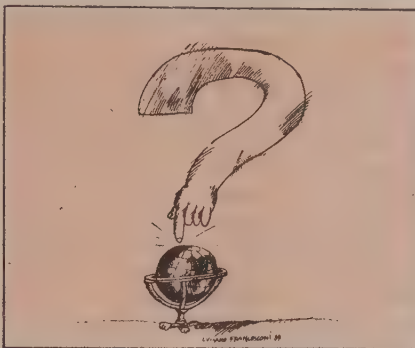
"Planet Russia" remains undiscovered

a mere rectification of mistakes but the need to assert a new way of thinking is, I believe, the major impression the report gives. And as your friend, I hope I can permit myself the following advice: it is not enough to put an end to the personality cult, the power cult should be ended too. The success or failure of the restructuring depends not wholly on the Soviet Union but also on how favourable the attitude of your foreign partners is. A Soviet journalist, an acquaintance of mine, once asked himself: what would have happened if in 1917 instead of holding Soviet Russia in the grip of the blockade and the intervention, the West had displayed understanding and sympathy? The Leninist new economic policy would have prevailed in Russia, and the country would have escaped the distortions that accompanied collectivization... The "ifs" of history are not of course very instructive. However, the external factor is extremely important for the success of any enterprise, the more so if it concerns a crucial revolutionary change. In the final analysis, the international community as a whole should be interested in your restructuring.

N.T.: Do your colleagues in Italy share this view?

D.R.: Today in Italy even the most manifest opponents of your country are displaying an interest in the changes now under way in the Soviet Union. The Italian people are unanimous in their sympathy for the new course being pursued by Mikhail Gorbachev. Aware of it, our mass media are giving much time and space to unbiased reports from Moscow. Their tone is friendly and respectful, which also promotes the shaping of public opinion in Italy as ours is the age of television. To be sure, the degree of confidence differs among the public but the interest displayed is enormous. It is borne out by the fact that the Socialists and Social-Democrats accepted the invitation to take part in the Moscow international meeting of the representatives of parties and movements.

I would like to believe that the consequences of the restructuring will tell favourably on international cooperation, and peaceful coexistence, and that other countries too will come to realize that all of us depend on each other either in the questions of economics, ecology or politics. We are not only all in the same boat



The artist Luciano Francesconi of the newspaper *Corriere della sera* (Italy) invites us all to ponder the future of our planet.

but we are in a boat that is on the point of going down.

N.T.: Awareness of the interrelationship and interdependence of contemporary world is a feature of the new thinking. How, in your opinion, does it affect the humanitarian problems?

D.R.: The new way of thinking is needed both for the creation of a climate of confidence and for the development of cooperation in the humanitarian field. The Soviet Government, as I know, suggested an international human rights conference in Moscow. Some quarters in the West gave this idea a hostile reception, arguing that the conference should not be held in Moscow. I am convinced, however, that the Soviet proposal should be accepted, and not only because it shows the boldness and readiness of the Soviet Union openly to discuss the most sensitive questions. The meeting in Moscow would give foreign observers additional opportunities to make sure that the Soviet Union complies with the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. They would see with their own eyes the process of democratization in Soviet society, which would also

include providing legal guarantees for human rights. The broad-based and representative character of such a conference would make it possible to consider the human rights situation in other countries too. Because no one can claim that there are no human rights problems in his own country. The idea of holding the conference is a manifestation of the policy of openness and restructuring in the U.S.S.R.

I believe that the human rights issue has long deserved to be rid of propaganda rhetoric and placed on the plane of practical accords, including those on a bilateral Soviet-American basis. This could also facilitate a climate of confidence.

N.T.: What possibilities exist, in your opinion, for the further expansion of Soviet-Italian relations and contacts? Among other things, exchanges between the public?

D.R.: There are many possibilities. For instance, the Italian ambassador in Moscow, Sergio Romano, has told me of his idea of organizing a meeting between Italian and Soviet historians for the study of the final period of World War II, the years 1944-45, a turning point for our peoples. I like the idea. It was during those years that the foundations of the postwar world were being laid.

To my mind, both sides are still doing little to facilitate the comprehensive and steady development of Italian-Soviet cooperation in the economic and cultural fields. So far, the Soviet market is not sufficiently accessible to Italian businessmen, and "Planet Russia" remains undiscovered! When I was the President of the Catholic Association of Italian Workers I did much to build up trade union exchanges. Nothing can replace contacts between people. As a religious man I would be glad if, for example, groups of Italian Catholics could regularly visit St. Trinity-Sergius Monastery in Zagorsk, and Russian pilgrims travel to see the basilicas and museums of the Vatican. That is, all possible avenues, including public exchanges, should be explored for developing contacts. Our peoples have much in common as regards culture, art, traditions, and attitudes to work, children, music, singing and dancing. We live under a common European roof and can make a great contribution to the solution of the global problems facing mankind. Let us work together to improve relations between nations, end poverty worldwide and differences between North and South, East and West, combat hunger and disease, fight environmental pollution and the arms race and be rid of mutual suspicion. There is much work here for everyone.

Interviewer ALEXEI BUKALOV

Senator Domenico Rosati is Italy's eminent public and political figure, member of the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee.

NIKOLAI VAVILOV: "LIFE IS SHORT, BUT I HAVE PLANS FOR 100 YEARS AHEAD..."

A profile of the great scientist whose centenary we are observing shortly

"Pure humaneness"

Nikolai Vavilov, scientist and personality. First-published reminiscences

Maria Sergiyenko,
a historian

Much has been said about Nikolai Vavilov's enormous contribution to world science. He was not only a great scientist but also a man of remarkable kindness, always ready to help, always considerate of the needs of others and attentive to those around him. He embodied what Goethe aptly described as "pure humaneness."

Igor Fortunatov,
a biologist

I have especially vivid memories of my last meeting with Nikolai Vavilov. It happened in March 1940.... We discussed selection and plant breeding. After we had talked for about an hour, he stopped and said, in apparent anguish, that he had probably got tired of living, that he had gone through a lot in life and revised many scientific notions and practices, but that it was about time he gave up. As he said that, he dropped a small "curtsy," taking his lambskin hat off with a flourish and spreading his hands wide, then straightened himself up and put the hat on again, pulling it low over his eyes. I was greatly surprised and even confused for a moment, but promptly took myself in hand and told Nikolai Ivanovich, in a firm tone of voice, that he still had a lifetime ahead of him and that his creative potential was far from exhausted. It was cold and windy. I suggested that Nikolai Ivanovich should go to the Academy, it was nearly 10 p.m. already, but he stood still looking eastward over the roof of the Yaroslavsky railway station and told me he was seeing, in his mind's eye, our vast Siberia, which needed an all-out effort to develop. Then he mentioned the enormous natural resources of Siberia, including its vast tracts of virgin land. He said I was mistaken in thinking him to be in good health, that he only looked fit, while in fact his strength had been undermined. He complained of aching joints and

occasional heart trouble which caused spells of weakness.

Our conversation turned to modern methods of breeding new plant varieties by exposing them to various environmental factors. Vavilov mentioned in this connection the much-publicized work of Derzhavin, who had bred a perennial variety rye by what he claimed to be a directional breeding technique. He said no one would make him believe in that.

It was around 11 p.m. when Vavilov finally told me he had walked off, blown away the cobwebs and could now go to the Academy, put in two or three hours' work, and then sleep. I remarked that it was a bit too late for him to go home, to which he said that there was a sofa at the Academy to have a nap on, that he was accustomed to "roughing it" this way, and he would get up at five or so in the

morning because he worked best in the quiet early hours.

Vadim Lekhnovich,
D. Sc. (Agriculture)

On Tuesday, May 4, 1940 (if I remember the date aright) Nikolai Vavilov and I walked out of the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences and made for the People's Commissariat of Agriculture. The day before he had made a report at a session of the Academy's presidium with Lysenko in the chair. Lysenko had repeatedly interrupted the speaker with an arrogant air and butted in with remarks like "And how does evolution go?" "Towards more complex or simpler life forms alike," was Vavilov's reply.

On the following day the newspaper *Sotsialisticheskoye Zemledeliye* carried a brief report on the session, quoting only the second half of Vavilov's answer and thus distorting it. I had read the paper and suggested that Vavilov should remonstrate with the editors about the distortion. "I am already 53," Vavilov told me calmly, "and have only seven active years left, so if I mess about with all this rubbish I'll rob myself of the time I need for accomplishing my life's work. And I have so much to do!"

Vavilov once told Pavel Gusev, Deputy Learned Secretary, that he had plans for a hundred years ahead.

A globe-trotter

"Research and globe-trotting go together," Vavilov said. His name is well-known in many countries of the world.

Nikolai Vavilov visited the U.S. three times. His first time there was in 1921, when Soviet-American scientific cooperation was beginning. At the time Vavilov met the cotton-breeder Harry W. Harlan and helped him preserve a rare collection of barley varieties, which later developed into the Centre of the American Plant Industry Bureau. In this issue, *New Times* carries reminiscences of Nikolai Vavilov by the American scientist Homer Shantz.

On the very day he arrived in Tucson, Arizona, we set out for the Native Indian reservations of Papago and Sells. Vavilov was interested in wild and cultivated endemic plants.

The roads were not particularly good then, but we wanted to see as much of the country's outlying regions as possible. Therefore we swerved from the main route from Moemkopi to Joteville and Oraibi, and got utterly confused a few times. Once we had to climb out of a ravine, and Vavilov lost his watch. The watch was never found, and I suppose it fell into the hands of a Hopi Indian....

Vavilov kept repeating: "Time is short, but there's so much to do."

On Saturday, October 11, word came that a telegram for Vavilov had arrived.

Upon reading the telegram, which was



Nikolai Vavilov at a Venezuelan grain market.

Photo by courtesy of V.Boiko and Y.Vilensky

a longish one, Vavilov looked undecided for a while as to what to do next. The telegram read: "The U.S. government is to give a lunch on Friday, October 17, with the Secretary of State and many other major American officials attending. It is necessary for you to be there. Some ten days later, a formal lunch of the same kind is to be given in London by the Prime Minister and other members of the cabinet. Your presence important."

Finally, Vavilov said: "It is more important for the future of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. that I visit the centres where cultured plants originated in Central America than attend a formal lunch...."

We spent a few days together and talked much about the future of world crop farming, about the need to supply food to the starving in various parts of the world. Vavilov was anxious to improve the nutrition of his own and other peoples through raising standards of agriculture.

Vavilov wrote a few letters to Shantz, and here is a quotation from the last one, dated June 22, 1940:

"It is with great interest that I have read about the crop farming regions of Africa in Economic Geography. The problem of world geography and of world organization in general is a most important one today.

We are still working more or less calmly and peacefully. I am still a double director

- of the Plant Breeding Institute in Leningrad and of the Academy of Sciences' Genetics Institute in Moscow, and I travel around the country rather extensively inspecting my associates' research work and experiments in various parts of the country. Tonight I am leaving for Daghestan on the Caspian Sea in order to study our collection of barley and wheat specimens from all over the world."

After that, Vavilov disappeared from the scene without trace, Dr Shantz recalls. "The termination of this great effort sustained for years," he wrote, "is a tragedy invoked by narrow-minded men with a meagre, if any, scientific background."

The American scientist Barry Cohen remarked, after a thorough study of the record of Vavilov's trips to the United States, that the Soviet geneticist had profound faith in the goodwill of men and believed that the outlook for the global scientific community was bright. In his letter to Hermann Müller of August 26, 1939, Vavilov wrote: "You surely understand that today we are looking forward to the Congress which is to be convened in London and Edinburgh...."

"Like many of us here, I am of the opinion that genetics is about to enter a still more active period. You know that we are internationalists and do not separate ourselves from world science in our work."

The lessons of a fate

Sergei KARA-MURZA, D. Sc. (Chem.), Deputy Director of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences' Institute of the History of Natural Science and Technology, shares his reflections.

I don't think we have yet got the full measure of Vavilov's greatness as a scientist. We are more preoccupied with his tragic fate. Incidentally, this fate also gives much food for reflection. The drama lies not only in the demise of a scientist who fell victim to his diametrical opposite in the years of Stalin's repressions. The drama lies in the fact that the mechanism for suppressing scientific thought is still at work, only now it operates bloodlessly and imperceptibly to most of us.

Imagine the following situation. There is a body of first-class scientists with a certain concept to go by. Now another research group comes up with an alternative concept, which is still in its formative stage. Well, the second concept is perfectly easy to suppress without any conflicts. No one will even notice. Provided, of course, that the former group has

the levers with which to do so. What kind of levers? First, control over research funds. Second, control over the publication of scientific literature, including periodicals. Third, the decisive say in judging research efforts.

Monotony and dogmatism are sure symptoms of stagnation that lead to sterility. If bound by hard and fast rules and confined to pre-conceived notions, science is in no position to keep pace with the times.

Many of us identify monopolism in science with Lysenko, the opposite of all that Vavilov stood for; actually, this monopolism has many faces and exists in the most subtle forms. Lysenko was an odious figure. Imagine a real scientist of influence in his place. Such a man, absorbed in his own research, might sincerely dismiss any alternative ideas that competed with his and strongly di-

sapprove of them. This is true even of leading researchers who are innovators in their fields.

It may be some time before such an opinionated scientist accepts a view that does not fit in with his own concept. Consequently, if science is monopolized by just one leader, and his close retinue, new trends will long remain ignored, and a lag may ensue.

Those who received their education in the fifties and later were actually denied a dialectical view of biology. New biology textbooks have appeared only recently, and social science textbooks still use Lysenko's ideas by way of illustration.

Lysenko appealed to many by the fact that his "theories" were accessible to all. If a cow has gained weight, its progeny will be fat, too. To think such rubbish was once taken seriously!

Many generations have been educated on such ideas. We often think in Lysenko's categories without really knowing it.

Today perestroika is aimed at putting an end to monopolies, and creating a democratic and competitive atmosphere in science. No creative endeavour is possible without that.

Compiled by Y. LEVINA and B. BALKAREI

Discovery

No. 330

ANDREI MALENKOV,
D.Sc.(Biology)

Would you like to live longer? I think there can be only one answer to that question. What can contemporary medical science offer you? Over the past hundred years life expectancy in the industrialized nations has almost doubled through improved sanitation, inoculations against the more dangerous infectious diseases, and the discovery of the microbes and viruses responsible for them (their properties and ways in which they spread), immune mechanisms and antibiotics.

In spite of the whole arsenal of drugs that could have helped prolong the average life span, life expectancy in some countries began to decline in the 70s. It transpired that even the most advanced drugs are powerless to increase life expectancy perceptibly. What are the reasons for this apparently paradoxical situation? Let us try to find out.

As it
was
a century
ago

Soviet scientists Leonid Gavrilov and Natalya Gavrilova have analyzed an enormous sample of death rate statistics and found out that there is a correlation between the probability of dying of old age and geographical location, and that over the past hundred years the rate of aging has remained almost the same with regard to gender and geographical region. Their analysis did not cover fatalities caused by injuries and disease, and the conclusion they reached is that the doubling of life expectancy is not due to a decline in the rate of death of old age.

Today we are growing old as fast as we did a century ago, and the only difference



is that civilization has reached a point beyond which the problem of extending the active life span through slowing down aging and even reversing the process can be resolved.

There are many scientists who question the expediency of prolonging the active life span. They cite various sociological and evolutionary arguments. Let us not consider these arguments here but rather proceed from the natural desire of any normal person to live a long and active life. After all, everyone is entitled to an independent point of view, which science cannot but take account of.

There are grounds to believe that

science today has the methodological basis for resolving the problems involved. It is provided by the theory of reliability that has long been applied to technology to considerable advantage. That theory makes it possible to compute the probability of failure of various mechanisms and systems and predict when they will break down completely.

Seminars have now been held on a regular basis for ten years in the U.S.S.R. on the question of applying the theory of reliability to biological systems. The seminars, pooling the efforts of biologists, physicians, mathematicians and physicists were invariably sponsored and coordinated by a Corr. Member of the Ukrainian

The folk group Nartaa (Georgian S.S.R.), all of whose members are centenarians, firmly believe that everyone should live to be a hundred and over.

TASS photo

Academy of Sciences Dmitry Grodzinsky and D.Sc. (Phys. & Math.) Yuri Kutlakhmedov.

Using the principles and mathematics underlying the theory, D. Sc. (Chem.) Lev Yaguzhinsky and Cand. Sc. (Biol.) Leonid Gavrilov of Moscow University have explained the fundamental quantitative regularities governing the

correlation between the probability of death and the individual's age.

If a faulty component of a mechanism is replaced in time, its service life can be considerably prolonged. That method cannot be applied to the human organism, however, as its parts are in a far closer relationship with each other than those of a machine. If one organ begins to malfunction, others try to make up for this and take over its functions.

Does this mean that any "breakage" of a human organism is irreparable? The signs are that this is not so. In the most general cases there are ways of so doing by increasing the reliability of the most faulty organ, especially with respect to processes that result in its destruction. That is, it is necessary to take action to prevent chronic diseases peculiar to the latter half of life at an early age, long before these conditions begin to manifest themselves. The idea is to enhance the resistance of organs and tissues that are most vulnerable to disease in a given person at an early age.

The phenomenon found out by Yelena Modyanova, Olga Bocharova and the author of this article was registered in this country as Discovery No.330. It makes it possible to map out ways of effectively preventing chronic diseases. The starting point of our investigations was our awareness of the genetic predisposition of many people to certain chronic diseases, among them tumours. Moreover, these tumours hereditarily form in the same organs.

It would be nice to "correct" Nature

One can inherit a predisposition to developing a tumour in one particular organ, rather than to developing tumours in general. Geneticists have bred a large number of species of mice that differ dramatically as to the organ which the tumour affects. For instance, there are mice that develop tumours of the lungs in a hundred per cent of cases and never develop tumours of the liver and vice versa. As we investigated the forces of cohesion at work between tissues in various "breeds" of mice, we discovered that tumours appear where the forces of intercellular cohesion are below a certain threshold value.

Earlier on we established that as a tumour becomes malignant, the mechanical properties of the cells in it come to differ greatly from those of normal cells, and the differences are discernible long before the tumour forms.

Our young colleague Olga Bocharova established the last stage of a tissue or

organ's "preparations" prior to becoming a tumour. Tumours do not set in in healthy tissues. Before they appear there must be a prolonged period during which the tissue is inflamed. We decided to find out whether intercellular cohesion can be enhanced artificially in order to make tissues more resistant to tumours, and our conclusion is that this can be done.

By then we had at our disposal a number of natural preparations isolated from the tissues of healthy animal organs and capable of restoring the forces of intercellular cohesion to safe levels. They were obtained in pure form by Cand. Sc. (Biol.) Victoria Yamskova of the Institute of Developmental Biology. We called them contactines, and it has been established that a billionth of a milligram of contactine administered to an animal enhances intercellular cohesion in the exactly required organ. Another effect of contactines is that they inhibit the division of cells, a process that is responsible for the growth of tumours. Unfortunately, these effects were very short-lived in adult species, 24 hours at most.

We decided to experiment with younger animals in order to prolong the effect. We all know that rickets caused by vitamin D deficiency results in deformed bones. It is of no use giving vitamin D to an adult person, but it can be of great help if administered to a child during the period

From ancient times, people have sought ways of lengthening life. The eight immortals - heroes of Taoist mythology.

Chinese painting from Guimet Museum, Paris



of skeletal growth. Perhaps our contactine can regulate the process whereby organs grow?

After many experiments that involved administering contactine at a critical stage in development, we managed to enhance cohesive forces in weakened organisms by a large margin and a permanent effect was attained in most animal species. The incidence of tumours was cut to a third and in this way we managed to diminish the probability of chronic pathologies in genetically predisposed animals.

The effect of the discovery on the progress of medicine is immediate. Applying the above method, we should be able to help people shed an inherited predisposition to disease, or at any rate diminish it dramatically and ultimately increase life expectancy.

This brings to mind the story of Dorian Gray and his eternal youth, but since our method is unlikely to give anyone the repulsive traits of Oscar Wilde's brainchild, there seem to be no objections to it. Contactines are likely to extend the active life span rather than merely sustain life processes, and we are fairly certain that the problem will have been resolved comprehensively by the turn of the century. The most important thing is to rule out the very possibility of chronic disease setting in and thereby increase life expectancy, if, of course, getting rid of one disease does not lead to another.

The reader might suppose that such apprehensions are superfluous, but there may be problems here, and there are facts that indicate them. For instance, a large-scale experiment in the United States involved a high-risk group of 15,000-odd people predisposed to heart disease. All of them were found to have high cholesterol levels in the blood and high cholesterol levels cause sclerosis which in turn leads to ischemia, a serious heart disease. After cholesterol levels had been lowered, the rate of ischemia-related fatalities decreased somewhat, but the average life expectancy in the experimental and control groups remained the same.

Can we apply our method immediately, and if not, what is necessary for us to be able to do so?

Our method cannot be put into practice immediately. We must study contactines and similar substances more thoroughly in order to obtain permission to use them. This will take quite a long time. Moreover, we need techniques that can help identify people predisposed to tumours as part of a routine medical check-up. Only after that will these preparations begin working for the good of man.

Friends and partners

From our special correspondent
LEV YELIN



FROM
THE BLACK
SEA
TO THE
ALPS

Jules Verne wrote a novel - "Danube Pilot" - in which his main character is a Bulgarian pilot by the name of Sergei Ladko (in the author's original version he is called Stefan Vladkov). The French writer drew an accurate picture: for centuries the Bulgarians were famed as excellent sailors and skilled pilots. But they never made the rank of captain. Nor were there any Bulgarian boats plying the Danube at that time, although the Bulgarians were perfectly capable of building them. The reason for their lagging behind was five centuries of Ottoman rule, during which the ports of Bulgaria were Turkish bastions, and Turkish and Austrian ships dropped anchor there. The foreign invaders conducted all the trade, and, as one historian put it, "took the bread away from the Bulgarians."

In 1878 Turkey was defeated in its war with Russia. That ended the Bulgarians' years of slavery, and shortly afterwards their Danube fleet began its history. On July 31, 1879, Russia made a gift to Bulgaria of 4 ships, a schooner, 7 launches, one self-propelled barge and 5 rowing boats. Today, when Bulgaria's river fleet numbers about 230 modern vessels and ranks among the four biggest on the Danube, when its shipyards in Ruse and Varna build both river and sea vessels, that might seem nothing special. But at that time.... On August 2, 1897, the paper *Bolgarin* wrote: "Bulgarians, masters of their land, have become masters at sea as well! For two days the Bulgarian flag has been flying on Bulgarian ships, for two days Bulgarian sailors have been sailing the seas, for two days Bulgaria has been a naval power!"

July 31, 1879 has gone down forever in the annals of our political history as a joyous day, a great day."

The first commander of the Bulgarian Danube flotilla was a Russian - Zinovy Rozhestvensky, who subsequently won fame in the battle of Tsushima with the Japanese fleet, which ended so tragically for Russia.

The Bulgarian river fleet made its debut in the town of Ruse, where repair

shipyards were built with the help of the Russians.

Today Ruse, the fourth biggest city in the republic, is Bulgaria's main Danube outlet. Its two wharfs - Ruse-West and Ruse-East - welcome ships from all the Danube countries, but chiefly those bringing cargoes from the Soviet Union.

I visited Ruse-East (or Novo-Pristanische, as it is called). The port stands right next to the two-tier bridge that links Ruse with the Romanian town of Giurgiu. The bridge was built jointly in 1955 by Bulgarian, Romanian, Soviet and Czechoslovak construction workers. When the river waters rise during spates, the lower part of the bridge is raised to allow big vessels to pass.

The equipment in the Ruse-East port is Soviet and Bulgarian. The port dispatcher Georgy Rusanov told me that the port was soon to be expanded.

Arguments about Dunaitrans

At least one fifth of Bulgarian-Soviet export trade passes through the Danube ports. Its volume is increasing all the time, so naturally the question of coordination between the Soviet Danube shipping line (SDSL) and the Bulgarian River Lines (BRL) is high on the agenda. On December 16, 1976, the Soviet Ministry of the Merchant Navy and the Bulgarian Ministry of Transport signed an agreement in Moscow setting up a Soviet-Bulgarian transport agency Dunaitrans. And on June 24, 1977, firefighting boats took up their positions on either side of the river fairway and their powerful pumps expelled mighty jets of water to create an arch, coloured in all the hues of the rainbow. Two vessels - a Soviet and a Bulgarian - moved towards each other and on reaching the arch, cut what seemed like a symbolic ribbon to mark the beginning of Dunaitrans operations.

The 7-man directorate of the agency has its headquarters in Ruse, and there is a 5-man office in the Soviet port of Izmail. The board of managers includes the chiefs of both the Soviet and Bulgarian Danube shipping lines, with both having a decisive vote. Four port chiefs, two from each side,

are also on the board with a consultative vote, as is the Director-General of the agency. How Dunaitrans operates in practice and what it has achieved over these past ten years was described to me in Ruse by Director-General Yordan Radoyev (before that he had headed the Bulgarian River Lines) and director Evgeny Kuznetsov.

"I would briefly sum up the operations of Dunaitrans," Radoyev told me, "as a form of cooperation between the enterprises of two fraternal countries, which makes it possible to obtain considerable profits with a minimum of expenditure (the salaries of the staff of 12 and the rent on the premises). Information on cargoes from the ports is relayed constantly to the directorate. Each morning starts with a dispatchers' conference, a review of the situation from Vidin to Silistra (the furthestmost points of the Bulgarian stretch of the Danube), and the tasks for the day are set. This promotes coordination of efforts and ensures that the Soviet-Bulgarian conveyor on the Danube operates without a hitch..."

One of the main achievements of Dunaitrans was the organization of mixed caravans. In the past it often happened that Bulgarian barges stood ready for departure in Izmail, but no Bulgarian tug was available. As a result, time was lost.

Jordan Radoyev, the Dunaitrans General Director: "Minimum costs - good profit."



For previous installments see Nos 33, 36, 39, 43, 47.

A similar situation occurred in Bulgarian ports with Soviet barges. Dunaitrans put an end to such situations. Mixed caravans began to ply the river, pulled by any available tug - whether Soviet or Bulgarian. Dunaitrans formed and sent on their way some 5,000 such caravans.

A few months ago in Izmail I was shown the figures for Dunaitrans operations. On the whole they were good, even excellent. But they also revealed cases of demurrage in Bulgarian ports (because of an insufficiently developed port fleet) and that the shipping line was making insufficient use of economic methods of management. From my conversations at the SDSL I had the impression that experts feel that their form of association, which

Kuznetsov regarded none of these versions acceptable.

"Don't get me wrong," Director-General Radoyev said. "We are not stagnating. What we would like is to expand operations to cover the full length of the Danube; we are making up mixed caravans that include Czechoslovak, Romanian and Hungarian barges, as well as barges from Federal Germany."

"One shouldn't fall too readily for the fashion for joint ventures," Kuznetsov put in. "Where such ventures promise profit that's all right, but where improving the

apparently mean that the Danube waters are pure and clear, and its banks are like heaven on earth. But few boys today dare to swim in the Danube. And there are far fewer fish in the Danube today than when the river began from a golden apple....

The Bulgarians admit that several mistakes were made in the past which resulted in unpleasant consequences both for the Danube and the regions through which it flows. Bogs and marshes along its banks were too hastily drained - and fish no longer go to spawn there. Lake Srebyrna was cut off from the river to grow

Ruse - West.

Photos by A. Talakov (Bulgaria)



rules out operations on a purely commercial basis, no longer meets modern foreign trade requirements. I was even told in Izmail that it would be sensible to set up a joint enterprise on the basis of Dunaitrans that would be fully cost-accounting. That, it is believed, would make possible the use of real economic methods in management. The chief of the shipping line, Alexei Tekhov, visualizes the changes as follows: "We shall supply Dunaitrans with tugs, and the Bulgarians will do the same. Then Dunaitrans will be able to pull barges along the entire length of the river, and not only Soviet or Bulgarian caravans, but also Czechoslovak, Austrian.... Such a joint venture will make its own profits."

Tekhov's counterpart from the Bulgarian shipping line Vladimir Donev (deputy director of the line, but at that time acting director) also believes that at some point Dunaitrans stopped developing. Donev often referred to "mutual interests," as if hinting a certain lack of them. Well, the Bulgarian river fleet has grown and only naturally it would like to take on more than in the past. That means looking for new forms of joint operation.

Director of Dunaitrans Evgeny Kuznetsov, for his part, examined several possible future versions - with Dunaitrans as a basis, setting up a pool for the transport of cargoes (like the one existing between Aeroflot and Balkan air lines), setting up a joint enterprise; pooling together all tugs and pushboats - discussed in Izmail.

existing version seems best, it should be improved."

But along what lines should the improvements run? Both Radoyev and Kuznetsov believe that Dunaitrans should be given greater rights in the day-to-day operation of the fleet.

"The shipping line often gives instruction on matters that it is much less well informed about than we are!" complained Radoyev. "Only this morning there was another argument. The representative of the shipping line insisted on doing it his way." (That reminded me that the shipping lines had the decisive say, while the Director-General only a consultative vote. Why?).

The Dunaitrans directorate is not pleased with the organization of work in the ports either. Too much time is spent on processing documents - it is high time their processing and transmission from port to port were automated, the transport agencies work fixed hours - but the fleet operates all round the clock. And a new level of automation and mechanization is needed in the ports.

So what should we do? Set up a new joint enterprise, or simply improve the present system? It looks as if opinions differ. Yet time and tide wait for no man.

Diplomacy and ecology

"The source of the Danube is a golden apple," goes an old Bulgarian song. And a modern song has the words: "The Danube carries golden sand...." Both



corn, tomatoes and peppers on the reclaimed land. But this violated the ecological chain and inflicted damage on the flora and fauna. Several years ago the Danube water's channel to the lake was restored.

At present a joint Bulgarian-Romanian project is under discussion. It envisages the construction of a hydropower station on the Danube between Nikopol (Bulgaria) and Turnu-Magurele (Romania). A vast man-made lake would be formed. The advantages are numerous, but there are also misgivings as to how this could affect the ecological situation - is it worth flooding a considerable terrain along the river?

In Sofia, I had the opportunity to discuss ecological problems with Bulgaria's deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Ganev. It was none other than Bulgaria, it should be remembered, that proposed at the Vienna meeting to convene an all-European conference on environmental protection. Sofia also put forward another initiative: to draft and sign a multilateral treaty on the ecological protection of the Balkan peninsula.

"We seek open and broad cooperation in resolving these problems," Ganev said. "After disarmament, there is no problem more urgent than the protection of the environment. All the more so, since the two problems are closely interrelated. With regard specifically to the present: a Soviet-American agreement on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles would favourably affect the political climate in the Danube region. That means conditions would be better for cooperation in various other fields, including ecology."

"What is already being done in Bulgaria for the Danube?"

"In the last five-year period alone 70 million leva were invested in the construction of purification installations in Sofia, Great Tyrnovo, Vratsa and Gabrovo. Experts are keeping constant check on the purity of the Danube waters at 11 points along its length. At another 4 points such checks are made jointly with the Romanians."

At present the purity of the water at the last point of the river on Bulgarian territory, Silistra, is higher than at the first, Vidin. But Ganev is also fairly critical. "The programme for the purification of Bulgarian Danube tributaries is far from being implemented in full. When assessing the statistics for Silistra and Vidin, one has to take into account that on our section of the Danube the river has the capacity for self-purification. Real success depends on the joint efforts of the Danube countries. For a start, a single system has to be adopted for automatic control of the state of the waters along the entire length of the Danube."

"Another problem," the deputy Minister continued, "is air pollution in the Danube area, and the whole ecological situation in the Danube basin."

"Does the nuclear power station at Kozlodui on the river's banks represent any danger in this respect?"

"No. Our experts believe there is no nuclear contamination, nor any threat of such contamination. The strictest control is maintained, especially after the Chernobyl disaster. Soviet experts have supplied us with detailed recommendations based on their own bitter experience. The situation is worse in Ruse. People are trying to leave the city - even if moving to a new place will confront them with housing and job problems."

What worries the population of Ruse

In recent years clouds of chlorine, as well as nitric, sulphuric and hydrochloric acids in a gaseous state have from time to time been released from the chemical plant in the Romanian town of Giurgiu. The prevailing winds are such that these clouds are blown across the Danube towards Ruse. I myself witnessed this when I had occasion to visit Ruse.

The Chief Medical Officer of the area, Evgeny Nazyrov, told me:

"The situation is worst of all when this happens in the spring or autumn, with frequent fogs, for then the acids react with the water and acid rain falls on Ruse. An increase has been observed in the incidence of respiratory diseases and asthma in the town."

I was advised to visit the offices of the newspaper Dunavska Pravda. It had won the respect of the Ruse population for its frank warnings of the dangers posed by acid clouds. The editor-in-chief, Sotir Mollov, spoke of his trip to Giurgiu.

"Romanian experts are taking vigorous action. Two deputy directors of the plant take turns monitoring the production process. We are told that gas discharges are due to the plant's equipment being old. At present the plant is being modernized - with up-to-date installations supplied by the Soviet Union. Since big housing estates are being built in the vicinity of the plant, our Romanian comrades have a stake in preventing air pollution."

A short while ago I phoned Mollov from Moscow for news of the situation.

"After the problem of chlorine clouds was taken up at the October meeting of Todor Zhivkov and Nicolae Ceausescu in Sofia, a special commission was set up to take urgent measures. In November, it held a meeting of head-of-government level in Ruse. Romanian Premier Constantin Dascalescu pledged to monitor personally the observance of the treaty. The plant has temporarily been closed down; the new installations have arrived and so we hope for a speedy solution to the problem."

I lay no claim to having given a full and complete analysis of the causes of the situation on the two banks of the Danube - in Ruse and in Giurgiu. What seems to me more important is to understand that such things should never happen again.

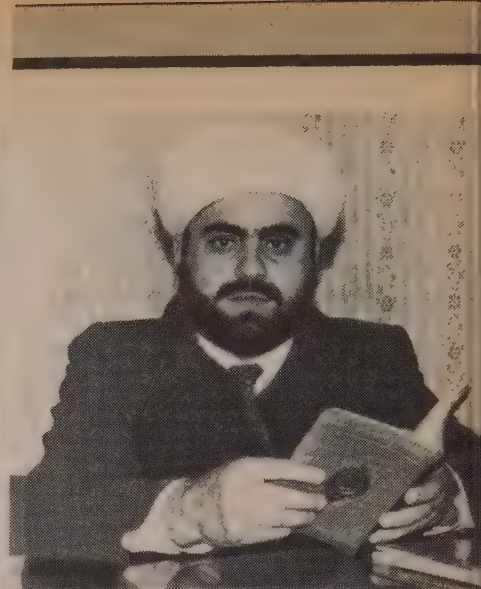
It would, of course, be a mistake to attribute all the ecological problems of Ruse - a major port and industrial centre - to the acid clouds alone. As the town expanded, a number of factories that could not be classified as ecologically safe were built in what were once its suburbs. Now they are in the middle of housing estates. In 1986 Bulgaria's Council of Ministers adopted a special decision on the protection of the environment and the prevention of air pollution in Ruse. As many as 90 million leva were allocated for this purpose. When I met Mollov he said that a great deal had already been done. Some harmful factories had been moved outside city limits. Purification installations were being modernized.

"And what are those muddy slicks on the Danube around the sewage pipes?" I then asked.

Mollov explained that when, as a result of drought, the level of the Danube falls, the waste waters released into the river become visible. Not the prettiest of sights, he added. It is the meat-packing plant, the dairy factory and the sugar refinery that are to blame - they continue to pollute the waters.

Ruse journalists (and Mollov is the chairman of their union) are waging a persistent struggle for a clean environment. No violators of the laws are allowed to get away scot-free. All are made to answer to the public. Otherwise all the efforts to organize shipping and economic cooperation on the Danube will be to no avail if the people living along the river cannot be sure of breathing fresh air.

Ruse-Sofia-Moscow



Many readers abroad, as well as here in the U.S.S.R., have no clear picture of the religious life of Soviet Muslims.

Followers of Islam in the Soviet Union live the same life as all their fellow Soviet citizens. As for their religious life, it is directed by four independent Muslim Boards - for Central Asia and Kazakhstan, for the European part of the U.S.S.R. and Siberia, for the North Caucasus, and, finally, for Transcaucasia. Their residences are in Tashkent, Ufa, Makhachkala and Baku, respectively.

The functions of the boards are numerous. Their foremost functions are care of the mosques, seeing that believers abide strictly by the Sharia, training Muslim clergy, and publishing religious literature. The Board also organizes pilgrimages to the holy places of Islam.

Both in the West and in the East, it is often claimed that in our country Muslims are unable to practise their religion....

Proving that black is white is a thankless task. Muslims in the Soviet Union live with dignity and have the opportunity to follow their faith. It should be said that the doors of the mosques were open under the tsarist régime as well. But outside the mosques, the lot of Muslims was discrimination, backwardness and illiteracy. Under the Soviet Constitution we have the same rights as all other citizens. Like all Soviet people, Muslims prize the values of the society in which they live, and the great opportunities offered by the Constitution to lead a good and happy life.

One could cite numerous examples to illustrate the fact that followers of Islam in the U.S.S.R. lead a full religious life. One could describe the beauties of the mosques that excite the admiration of our guests, Muslims from other countries. Their gates are always open to every one who wishes to fulfil his duty to the prophet.

I am firmly convinced that those who spread false stories about the life of Soviet

Islam rejects violence

Shaikh ul-Islam Allashukur Pasha-zade, Chairman of the Muslim Board for Transcaucasia, talks to a New Times correspondent.

Muslims know full well the true state of affairs. They know, but what they say is different.

Some people seek to use religion in the ideological struggle against socialism, to urge believers to political opposition....

Attempts to drive a wedge between Muslims and other members of Soviet society are doomed to failure. The Muslims themselves regard such attempts as a provocation. We know well that it is the brotherhood of people of different faiths and convictions, different nationalities, that constitutes the great beneficial strength of our society. We know that and prize this brotherhood.

...Others talk of the aggressiveness of the followers of Islam....

Soviet Muslims indignantly reject the thesis of the imperialist ideologists that "Islam is a religion of the sword and of violence." It is true that there have been numerous cases in the world of the use of violence by Muslims. I would say that the Islam they preach is insincere. Their actions are encouraged by imperialist circles and run counter to the teaching of the Koran.

It is often claimed that Soviet Muslims are forbidden to travel to Saudi Arabia for their Hadj. Is that true?

No, it is not true. One can understand the feelings of any follower of Islam, no matter from what part of the world he comes, when he stands on the blessed soil of Mecca - the cradle of our religion. It is the dream of every Muslim to make this pilgrimage, to kneel at the grave of the Prophet Mohammed.

This past summer dozens of my countrymen shared this great joy with me, and for me it was my fifth Hadj. They were people from different parts of the Soviet Union, and neither they, nor the thousands of other Soviet Muslims who had made the pilgrimage in previous years, can complain that any obstacles were put in the way of carrying out their devout duty.

But I feel obliged to mention something else. During this year's Hadj we were involuntary witnesses of armed clashes between Muslims. For the first time in hundreds of years the blood of the faithful was shed in the streets of Holy Mecca. That shook us all and gave rise to bitter thoughts. For if even in such a holy place for all followers of Islam, in our common holy house, funeral prayers were heard instead of prayers of gratitude to the

Almighty, then something is wrong with our world, and that means we Muslims have to give the matter thought together.

Unfortunately, blood is not being shed today in Mecca alone. The most explosive situations today are in the Muslim regions of the world....

Unfortunately that is indeed so. Speaking on behalf of Muslims in the Soviet Union, I say we are against the senseless fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq. We would like to see the United States and its allies withdraw their warships from the Persian Gulf, warships that carry the fire of war and the cold of death to the area. Nor can we but be disturbed by the fate of the Palestinians evicted from their lands. For almost 40 years shots have been fired and the blood of innocent people shed in the Middle East. The disturbing situation in the area gives grounds for anxiety, and causes the hearts of all honest Muslims to ache.

I have on a number of occasions been to Afghanistan, the last time being only a few months ago. I have seen the first results of the policy of national reconciliation. The Afghan people understand that there can be no life outside one's country. And those who were deceived, but realized their mistake and returned, are in effect beginning a new life. The state's concern for Muslims in Afghanistan is felt everywhere you go: religious schools and faculties are being opened, and mosques and other religious buildings ruined by the opponents of the April revolution repaired. We would like to see a speedy solution to the so-called "Afghan problem."

In the West one hears that lately the self-isolation of Islam has been on the increase. Is there any truth in these allegations?

I cannot agree with them. Progressive Islamic leaders warn against the dangers of Muslims holding themselves aloof from others. They advocate wider contacts and dialogue not only with representatives of other faiths, but also with different secular circles. In their attempts to belittle the Muslim peace movement, its opponents resort to absurdities. They have even cited as an example of self-isolation such a permanent body as Muslims in the Struggle for Peace, which was elected to ensure that this struggle should not be a passing phase. It is well known that one

of the main objectives of this body is not to segregate followers of Islam from the worldwide anti-war movement, but to organize joint actions....

And you, Shaikh Allashukur, have been elected chairman of this body....

I regard it as a great honour and evidence of trust, as well as recognition of the very great contribution of all Soviet Muslims to the sacred struggle for peace and universal prosperity. The programme for the accelerated development of our country put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev finds support in our minds and hearts. Both our religious convictions and our duties as citizens prompt us to welcome the beneficial process of renovation, or perestroika, that is embracing all spheres of society. As you know, representatives of Soviet Muslims are to be met at all the major public forums, including international ones. We are also preparing to take part in the celebrations of 1000th anniversary of the Christianity in Russia. Marking this anniversary, we pay tribute to the Orthodox religion that stood at the source of a great national culture, architecture and literature.

And what has perestroika brought you personally?

Today we are urging people insistently to be decent, honest, self-critical, and of the greatest possible service to their country in this historic time for it.... I was not exaggerating when I said that perestroika has found its most ardent supporters in believers. As an example I could cite the sincere support given by Muslims and their profound feelings for the newly formed Lenin Memorial Children's Fund. I fully agree with the saying that a country can be judged by its attitude to children. Our children are lucky, for they live in a country where every year is Children's Year. And not only the year, but every day, and every hour. That is a fact. I was honoured by being elected to the board of this most humane of funds. Perhaps - may I joke? - the fact that I myself have six children affected this decision by the Soviet public.... Muslim families as a rule are big families, and the initiative is in full harmony with their religious convictions and their feelings as parents.

I should like to ask a personal question. What in your opinion was the reason for your achieving such an important position at the young age of only 30?

The choice was made at the Conference of Transcaucasian Muslims in the summer of 1980. I regard it as a great responsibility and shall share no effort to justify the trust placed in me by my fellow-Muslims. As for my comparative youth, it is no drawback in our dynamic times, which require energy, action and activity.

Interviewer VLADIMIR GALIN

Photo by author

"I TRANSLATE MY PREFERENCES..."

What attitudes are taken abroad to contemporary Soviet prose and poetry? Do our authors have a chance of appearing on best-seller lists? Our correspondent Natalya Daryalova met with American and British translators to find out.

- Do works by Russian and Soviet authors appear on best-seller lists?

DIANA TURNER, a translator of Soviet fiction who works for Collet's International Bookshop in London:

- I am afraid that as yet they don't. Russian classical literature is relatively well known in Britain, especially among students of the humanities, but if you ask anyone in the street, he may perhaps tell you that he's heard of Pushkin and Dostoyevsky, but he's never read anything by them. Yuri Trifonov is the most popular contemporary Soviet author. His writing was bold and uninhibited, he penetrated the minds of his characters and openly identified political and social problems. As you know, there are far more consumers of mass culture than serious readers who go for serious reading, but Bulgakov, for instance, is fairly well known here. His book "The Master and Marguerite" has been reprinted a number of times and is sufficiently well known outside the small circle of people interested in Soviet literature. In our bookshop alone, several thousand copies of the book are sold each year.

Advertising is very important in publishing and an advertisement must have at least a hint of sensation, or better still, scandal about it. A typical advertisement on the cover of a book by a Soviet author would say that the book has been spoken highly of by writers who have left for the West.

- What would you say about the attitude to Soviet writing in the United States?

ANTONINA W. BOUIS, a leading translator of Soviet literature in the United States, editor of the translation of the Soviet Encyclopedia by Macmillan Publishers:

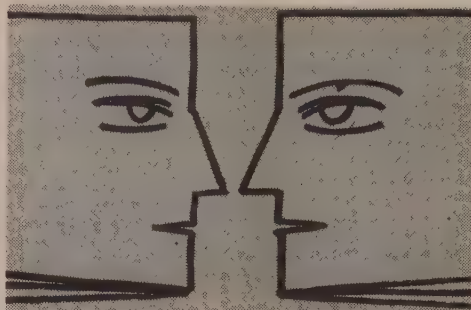
- The Americans do not care much for things that have nothing to do with the United States.

- They have withdrawn, so to say, into their own shells, haven't they?

- That is correct. They have no need to see more than they see at home. They do not read a great deal and their favourite reading is non-fiction and manuals on various skills.

- Well, naturally, good husbands are a much sought-after commodity...

A book promising the prospective reader quick results in whatever field will sell like hot cakes. Fiction is far less popular. Translated Russian books are



a fraction of the book market, but there is nothing anti-Soviet about that, the Americans are not very interested in other people's way of life. But still, Russian literature has a faithful following among Americans who fall in love with Russia and stay that way for the rest of their lives.

- What are the attitudes in your countries to the changes underway in the Soviet Union now?

DIANA TURNER:

- The changes in the Soviet Union arising from **glasnost** are attracting a great deal of attention in Britain. The so-called right wing, however, regards them with great scepticism and dismisses them as propaganda tricks. My own view is that until recently British publishers were not particularly keen on Soviet literature, but the situation is changing now. Our shop, for instance, sells out New Times and Soviet literary magazines very rapidly. "Children of the Arbat" by Anatoly Rybakov is in great demand. The London production of "The Sarcophagus" by Vladimir Gubarev has been a success and the play has been published in English. Retrospectives of Soviet films invariably attract many people and promote sales of books by Soviet authors. After seeing Vasily Shukshin's films many people took an interest in his books. Sometimes translators and publishers barely manage to keep up with the demand.

Elem Klimov's film based on Valentin Rasputin's novel "A Farewell to the Village of Matyora" so entranced audiences that they wanted to read the book - but no translation of it was available.

Books by Chinghiz Aitmatov are fairly well known too. They have been put on the curriculum at schools that teach Russian.

SYLVIA TANKEL, editor-in-chief of Short Story International, which received

a U.N. prize and the International Reading Association's prize last year:

- True art knows no national, political, or linguistic frontiers. Recently we published "The French Lessons" by Valentin Rasputin, a short story that cannot leave anyone indifferent. When you learn something about another country its people no longer seem strangers to you and the earlier you learn about a new culture, the sooner you begin to see that we all have a lot in common.

In the collection of stories for children we included one by Anatoly Aleksin. We also plan to publish a short story by Mikhail Roshchin. We are becoming more like each other, only we speak different languages.

ANTONINA W. BOUIS:

- Well, right now languages are different and I translate books because I believe that this is the best way to acquaint people with each other. I try to translate contemporary writing in which readers may find answers to their many questions about life. These questions cannot, alas, be answered conclusively, but in their search for the truth people reach out for each other.

- Whom do you like to translate?

- I like those whom I translate and I translate my preferences. I am a lucky person, because I do what I like and I get paid for it. I have translated Evgeny Yevtushenko, Valentin Rasputin, Bulat Okudzhava and Andrei Voznesensky. I have brought with me a copy of "Danilov, the Viola Alta Player" by Vladimir Orlov, which has been just published. The first reviews were very encouraging. At the moment I am working on a short story by Grigory Baklanov.

It is not by chance that I became a translator because I am a Russian American. My parents found themselves in America when they were children. I was born in America but we have a Russian household.

- What language do you think in?

- It depends on what I am thinking about. I philosophize in Russian and make decisions in English.

- When you look for a book to translate, what are you after? Does it have to be controversial and critical, or on the contrary, full of romance?

- The language and style are always crucial. The book must also be psychologically true and between its covers there must be living human beings and not cardboard characters familiar from hundreds of other novels. It is very important to me to be able to feel that while communicating with characters in a Russian book an American will say under his breath: "That is something I really understand. I would have done the same in that kind of situation."

"The truth I am after"

"Incredible! A Russian producer working abroad with Italian actors has succeeded in convincing us that the characters on the stage are Russians. He has created the atmosphere of his native land." This was Federico Fellini's comment after viewing the premiere performance in Rome of Nikita Mikhalkov's production of "The Mechanical Piano," based on Chekhov stories.

Below NIKITA MIKHALKOV is interviewed by New Times correspondent Pavel Negoitsa.

When you are far from home, in an entirely different atmosphere, thoughts of Russia, of Russian culture, come ever more insistently to mind. This is not nostalgia. You view events and developments at home "from the sidelines," as it were. You obtain something of a generalized, rather detached image of the historical path your country has traversed. And you ask yourself: Why are we what we are and not something else? Where are the roots of it all?

Here are the questions that exercised Nikita Mikhalkov's mind during his work on the production of a Russian play on the Rome stage. He deplores the fact that so little, if anything at all, is known about us in the West. That Dostoyevsky, Tolstoi and Chekhov remain undiscovered or poorly understood there. He says that the West merely adapts Dostoyevsky to Western culture, that it "extracts" from Dostoyevsky only what is comprehensible to it. It is preoccupied with the "detective-thriller" element in the narrative; the fact that Dostoyevsky is a phenomenon of Russian spiritual life does not concern it.

Mikhalkov spent hours patiently, perseveringly "implanting" Russian, Chekhovian character traits in the Italian cast. It is impossible to understand us, the Russians of today, without some knowledge of Russian 19th century literature, he says. It is likewise impossible to fathom the Russian character without having some idea of the meaning for Russia of the coming of Christianity and of the more than two centuries of Mongol-Tatar yoke.

That takes us back to the hoary past, doesn't it? Is that essential for the Italians?

One can, of course, go on stubbornly telling the Western public about our achievements. But that is cold, cut-and-dried information. As often as not it bears

the imprint of alienation from our historical roots, and not the reverse. No country in the world has as tragic a history as Russia. In the course of that history its people were tempered, their spirit was steeled. The national identity crystallized, and the great Russian language grew ever richer. That language embodied in itself the innate Russian humour and irony that became an intrinsic feature of the national character, one which often, at the most tragic moments of their history, gave the Russians the strength to perform superhuman feats of valour. Beginning with the medieval skomorokhi (jester-minstrels) hunted down by the Tatar invaders and ending with Vasily Tyorkin caught up in the hell of history's most terrible war.

No, if we want to get our culture across to the West we must scoop deeply. I am for the mutual penetration of cultures rather than for the enslavement of one culture by another. I want the world to awaken to our culture and our history.

I would say that careful preservation of national identity is a reliable guarantee of national immunity. Not that I stand for isolating people from one another. The low standard of the teaching of foreign languages in schools and colleges, for instance, is to my mind nothing but an instance of a thoughtless, disrespectful attitude to ourselves, to our own country. How much inconvenience, trouble, misunderstandings, blunders are caused when a Soviet person arrives in a foreign country and cannot make himself understood. He is dumb and, consequently, deaf.

I am for the harmonious combination in people of awareness of the need to preserve one's own national identity with the need to understand the culture of another country, another way of life.

A person must have the possibility to choose, to draw his own conclusions for the good of his homeland. You can hardly believe your ears when some official in charge of matters concerning foreign travel sees fit to caution you to wear a clean shirt while abroad "so as not to be a disgrace to the Soviet people!" Why humiliate a member of a great nation with a great culture? Besides, if that is how we treat ourselves, how do we expect others to treat us?

Beginning with the classroom, the children, the young citizens of our great country must be accustomed to the thought that they are part of the big world: Considering that we all live on one planet, it is necessary from the start to prepare ourselves to communicate not only with those among whom we live.

As for the artist, his roots lie in his native soil, and his branches embrace the world. He imbibes spiritual nourishment through his roots, and the fruit he produces he gives to the people. With falsely understood patriotism we shall not be able to reach the hearts and minds of other peoples. To stew in our own juice is not enough. Look at our cinema of the past years. Films whose premieres were nationwide occasions draw no audiences either in our own country or abroad.

We, indeed, do not figure prominently on the Western film market. Is that altogether due to discrimination against Soviet films?

We console ourselves with self-delusion and at times with deception. To continue working in the old way, to maintain the kind of intercourse with the world we had twenty years ago is to go on consciously deceiving ourselves. Unfortunately, today too we do not know how to work with Western partners. Our actors are invited to act in foreign films but they have to wait 45 days for an answer from Moscow and by that time there is no longer any need for them. What foreign producer will wait that long? If that is the way we work, who will want to work with us?

Do we really need the West so badly, I sometimes hear it said. Is there not a danger of losing ourselves in a strange milieu? What does "losing ourselves" mean? Only an artist without roots, without a sense of national identity who comes to the West to grow rich can lose his creative individuality. But then he could lose it at home just as well. When an artist is only after money, he doesn't think of things like national identity. Being in a foreign land has nothing to do with it. Gogol who wrote chapters of "Dead Souls" in Rome didn't lose himself. Turgenev did not lose himself in France. Or Gorky, in Capri. What about our artists who went to Italy to study? I am 42, I have four children, and

I myself am far more interested in preserving my individuality than all those who fear for it. If the spirit of his homeland, his national memory are alive in an artist, don't worry, he won't lose himself. And if he does, that means he had no individuality to preserve.

You have been to Italy several times. What aspect of life in this country has caught your attention?

One thing I have noticed is that Italians are ashamed of doing a sloppy job. That this attitude is sustained by the demands of the market is another matter. But the market does not explain everything. I have a mechanic working with me on the production of "The Mechanical Piano." He works very well, and not because he's afraid of losing the job. No, he would be simply ashamed to work differently. He knows, of course, that he'll get paid for his work, but with him it is not a case of collecting your pay whether you work or not....After all Russia too has had its skilled craftsmen, workers who derived pleasure from their work. Work taught people to take pride in themselves, in work they saw the meaning of life. That was true of the soil tiller, the carpenter, the chronicler, the blacksmith. So it is today too, if they respect themselves. This applies to the Kostroma restorers who are gradually bringing the frescoes on the ceilings of old Russian churches back to their original beauty; it applies to Academician Likhachev and to the textile workers of Ivanovo, and to that medical miracle-worker Dr Ilizarov, and to the Georgian metal engravers.

The loss of a sense of sin and shame is a misfortune. Wherever that is lost, indifference and violence come to the fore. We wonder today what has bred indifference in us. Yet how could it be otherwise if for so many years consciousness of man's place in the universe, or at any rate of the knowledge that our history goes far back into the distant past was in effect deliberately stifled. That too is the result of alienating people from the soil. For decades the Russian peasant was weaned away from the land and instilled with indifference to it. This is being duly evaluated today, but even in the present situation it will take years and years to revive man's love for the soil, for his natural calling.

Remember the demolition of monuments in Moscow and the renaming of streets and cities? For some reason cultivation of respect for the new was always accompanied by cancelling out of what had been before. Sometimes that was justified, but certainly not always. Each

time some small root was severed, some measure of faith undermined.

To look with hope to the future without understanding, without appreciating the past is a mistake. I have nothing against the tradition, for instance, of attaching a doll to the hood of a car in a wedding cortege. That is a matter of taste. But an artificially implanted tradition is not a tradition. It is an artificial exercise. Children standing with wooden dummy guns at attention at memorials are performing a ritual. What is the purpose? To imbue them with respect for a particular monument when across the street some 17th architectural monument is crumbling to decay?

Perhaps what I am saying is painful. It is painful for me when I suddenly detect a mood of impermanence in what people do.

I rejoice in the inborn optimism of the people. But I ask: why is that a country that emerged victorious from the most terrible of wars has so many difficulties to overcome? Is it not because we were told for so long that our life was all smooth sailing? People believe in the ultimate triumph of commonsense. The inexhaustible strength of our national character also lies in constant and unfaltering faith in the triumph of justice, whatever sacrifice that might entail. Today faith has acquired a new lease of life, but we must take care: I see that a good many people are paying lipservice to "perestroika"

while in reality looking after number one. I have serious doubts about collective awakening - the inertia is too great.

You belong to the generation of the 40-year-olds who are now making their mark in the cinema and in literature. What are the priorities in your scale of values?

In the times of our forebears there was such a thing as a code of honour. For me that concept means a great many things. You don't go for the fleshpots, you don't mouth platitudes from the platform, you don't just declaim slogans, you do your job. No matter where and whatever the risk...If you have not betrayed your roots, you will be useful and needed.

The great culture of Russia has to reach people in the West not merely in its superficiality but in all its richness. We must cease to be an enormous, enigmatic bogey which may not be understood but has to be feared. Regrettably, we ourselves have done much to foster that mistaken approach to Soviet culture on the part of the West. Now that has to be rectified. Remember the slogan: who is not with us is against us. In the new situation it is hopelessly outdated, it has no place in a world groaning under the burden of lethal weapons. It has to make way for a different maxim: who is not against us is with us.

When I ask myself - what is it that I want? - I may answer in the words of the hero of Fellini's picture "8 1/2": "I want to speak the truth which I do not know but which I am after."

Our guests

Our office was recently visited by Jagdish Chander Hassija, an Indian public figure, who was in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Council for Religious Affairs. He is vice-president of the research centre Raj Yoga and a member of the leading council of the religious university of Prajapita Brahma Kumaris.

The guest told our staff about the programme, Global Cooperation for a Better World, being run by the university, and inquired how moral standards, the

role of which is performed in India by religion, are maintained in the Soviet Union. This is an interesting problem, and the magazine is going to publish an article on it in a future issue.

Ahmed Ounaies, Tunisian Ambassador to the Soviet Union, was also a guest of New Times. He acquainted the staff with the policy of Tunisia's new President Ben Ali.

Hannes Androsch, general manager of the Creditanstalt Bankverein, Austria, visited the Soviet Union for

the opening of its branch in Moscow. In our office he had a talk with New Times journalists, and an account of this meeting will also be published.

D. Maroudas, a member of the Greek parliament from the PASOK and a prominent journalist, was invited by the Novosti Press Agency. In the New Times office he was told how the work of the staff is organized and how the problems of perestroika are featured in the magazine.

Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, U.S.S.R. Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67

Published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish and

Czech ● Telex: 411164a NEWT SU, 411164b NEWT SU, 411164c NEWT SU ● Cables: New Times Pushkin Square

Moscow ● Printed by the Moskovskaya Pravda Press in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

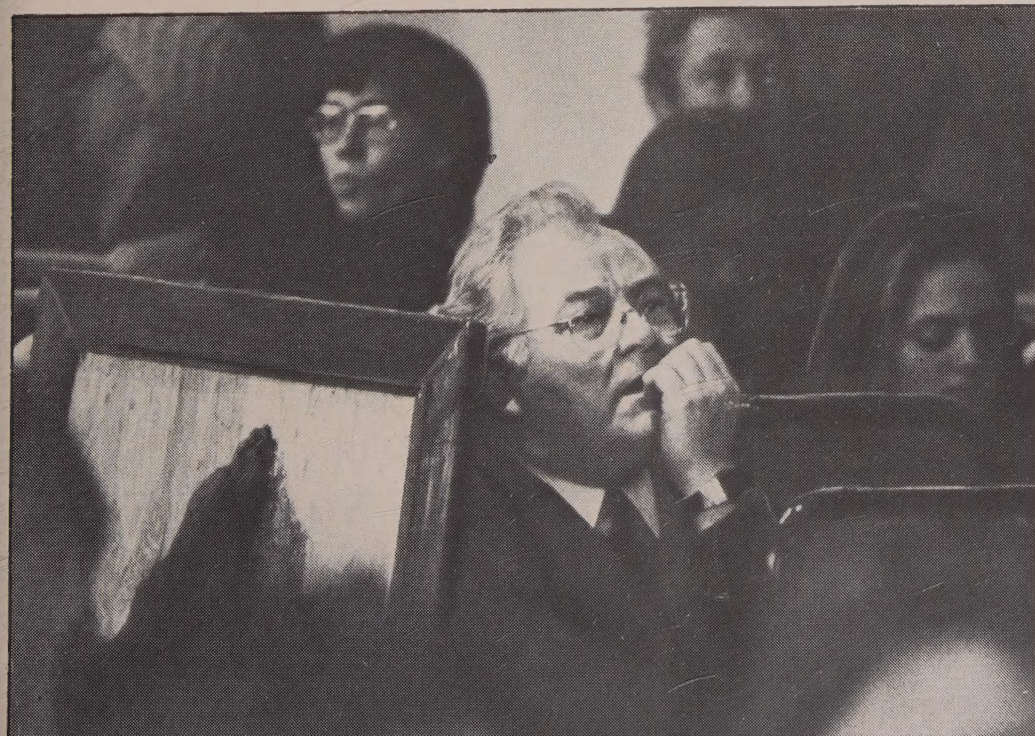


students at the Moscow Higher Industrial Arts School (commonly known as Stroganovka) to sell the exhibits at the annual displays of their works, the Leningradsky District Komsomol Committee met them halfway. The students were offered the services of a professional auctioneer.

A fault-finding all-student jury selected for sale the 360 works — paintings, drawings, applied art — which had been most successful at the pre-auction exhibition. Some of them



As a rule, it is some time before an idea, even a brilliant one, becomes a reality. Every rule has its exceptions, however. As soon as it occurred to the



had even been commissioned in advance. Alas, not all of the prospective buyers proved as cooperative as the auction's sponsors, so fortune smiled on those who got the better of their week-end laziness and did turn up at the Soyuz Hotel on Saturday. The auction not only recouped all the expenses involved but even returned a profit big enough for the sponsors to remit half of it to the inmates of children's homes. The Stroganovka students have decided to hold another auction next autumn.

Photos
by Valery Levitin



In the Nicaraguan
capital's streets

Thierry Gellée
(France)



INTERNATIONAL CONTEST

**MAN
AND
MANKIND**



ИНДЕКС 70622

НА АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ